LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY

VALERIUS MAXIMUS

MEMORABLE DOINGS AND SAYINGS

BOOKS I–V

Edited and Translated by

D. R. SHACKLETON BAILEY

Valerius Maximus compiled his handbook of notable deeds and sayings during the reign of Tiberius (AD 14–37). The collection was admired in antiquity and has recently been attracting renewed scholarly attention. Yet to date there has been no modern English translation of *Memorable Doings and Sayings*. This work is now added to the Loeb Classical Library, in two volumes, a freshly edited Latin text facing D. R. Shackleton Bailey's authoritative and pleasing translation.

Valerius arranges his instructive examples in short chapters each focused on a particular virtue, vice, religious practice, or traditional custom—including Omens, Dreams, Anger, Cruelty, Bravery, Fidelity, Gratitude, Friendship, Parental Love. The moral undercurrent of this collection is readily apparent. But Valerius tells us that the book's purpose is simply practical: he decided to select worthwhile material from famous writers so that people looking for illustrative examples might be spared the trouble of research. Whatever the author's intention, his book is an interesting source of information on Roman attitudes toward religion and moral values in the first century.

D. R. Shackleton Bailey is Pope Professor of Latin Language and Literature, Emeritus, Harvard University.

VALERIUS MAXIMUS

MEMORABLE DOINGS AND SAYINGS

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY

D. R. SHACKLETON BAILEY

HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS
LONDON, ENGLAND
2000

Copyright © 2000 by the President and Fellows
of Harvard College
All rights reserved

LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY® is a registered trademark
of the President and Fellows of Harvard College

Library of Congress catalog card number 99-089336
CIP data available from the Library of Congress

ISBN 0-674-99541-4 (vol. I)
ISBN 0-674-99542-2 (vol. II)

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION 1

BIBLIOGRAPHY 8

MEMORABLE DOINGS AND SAYINGS

BOOK I 12

BOOK II 128

BOOK III 230

BOOK IV 336

BOOK V 438

VOLUME II

MEMORABLE DOINGS AND SAYINGS

BOOK VI

BOOK VII

BOOK VIII

BOOK IX

GLOSSARY

INDEX

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am grateful to Mr. C. J. Skidmore for the bibliography he provided (page 8), also to Professor W. S. Watt for a copy of his article "Notes on Valerius Maximus" forthcoming in *Eikasmos*.

D.R.S.B

INTRODUCTION

Nothing is known of Valerius Maximus except what can be gathered from his work. His name survives in early manuscripts and epitomists, but without praenomen. The nomen and cognomen are both common and found combined in the great patrician gens Valeria down to the later third century B.C., when Maximus was replaced by Messalla, and again occasionally under the Empire, but this author has no better claim to aristocratic ancestry than Lucretius. A reference in 5.5. praef. to *imagines* (family masks) belongs to an imaginary figure, not the author himself.

Addressing the Emperor Tiberius (A.D. 14–37) in his dedicatory preface Valerius refers to himself as *mea parvitas* ("my petty self"), and in 4.4.11 he has *parvulos census nostros* ("our petty fortunes"), indicative of modest station and means. But his writing shows him to be steeped in the art of rhetoric and eager to show off his literary talent. Perhaps then a dweller in some Roman Grub Street, at least until he found an eminent and wealthy patron in Sextus Pompeius, Consul in A.D. 14 and a patron-friend of Ovid (*Ex Pont.* 4.1.4, 5, 15).

Valerius' literary legacy, a collection of "memorable deeds and sayings," is arranged in nine Books (*libri*) subdivided into chapters, each purporting to illustrate a theme,

for example Roman religious observance, or moral quality. Roman examples are usually followed by some non-Roman (external) ones.

Stray items of internal evidence suggest that composition was still proceeding in A.D. 30 or thereabouts. A personal digression (2.6.8) recalls an incident on the Aegean island of Ceos during a voyage to Asia along with other Romans in Pompeius' company.[1] If Pompeius was on his way there as governor, as is more than likely, Syme showed that it was probably in or about 25. Pompeius seems to have died between the end of 29 and the end of 31, and a warm obituary tribute is attached to 4.7.ext.2, along with a complaint about the malice which association with the great man had drawn upon the writer. An impassioned denunciation (9.11.ext.4) of a conspirator against the Emperor who (in spite of some recent scepticism) can only be Sejanus[2] takes us to 31, though the passage may

[1] Recent doubt about the identity has been conclusively refuted by John Briscoe in his "Notes on Valerius Maximus" (*Sileno* 1993, 395–408). Yet D. Wardle in his commentary on Book 1 (1998) leans the other way: "the casual way in which he is introduced would make V. seem a very ungrateful client; Pompeius may thus become a humble unknown and any date for the episode be lost." A humble unknown was unlikely to be traveling to Asia with Valerius and a company of Romans—actually ex hypothesi his suite (*cohors*). And a lady of the highest station would not have been so anxious for the honour of his presence at her deathbed "to add lustre to her passing." The *seemingly* casual introduction of the episode, along with a generous dose of flattery, probably appeared to Valerius as a graceful maneuvre, the dedication of his work having gone to the Emperor, not to Pompeius.

[2] Again Briscoe's discussion should have settled all doubts about whether the nameless conspirator really was Sejanus.

have been added to an earlier draft. A reference to Julia (Livia) Augusta, who died in 29, as still alive (6.1.praef.) fits in, but other suggested evidential allusions do not convince.

In its opening sentence the purpose of the work is defined in terms of practical utility: Valerius has decided to select from famous authors and arrange doings and sayings worthy of memorial, both Roman and foreign, in order that persons looking for illustrative examples may be spared the trouble of a search among sources. Nothing is said here about edification. But there follows a reference to the virtues and vices of which he is about to write, and his items are mainly arranged as illustrating moral qualities or tendencies, and frequently provided with moralistic comment. Like his Emperors, Valerius is, or poses as, a proponent of traditional religion and mores; politically he is conservative (pro-senatorial) as concerns the republican past but a eulogist of the new imperial order and its architects the Caesars: Julius, Augustus, and not least Tiberius. Hence a substratum of ideology, soil for the flowers of rhetoric that are this author's pride and joy. How far his style was his own creation can only be guessed, but the like of it is not found among earlier Latin survivors. He writes in periods, therein following Cicero and Livy as opposed to Sallust, but in his hands they are apt to sprawl as though he had trouble winding them up. Epigrams and other ornaments of variable quality display themselves in language often ponderous, stilted, and strained; but the charge of obscurity does not hold below the surface. Textual uncertainties apart, basic sense is simple and clear, if not banal, even to bathos as in the comment on Democritus' devotion to philosophy (8.7.4): "The mind boggles at such diligence,

and passes elsewhere." The verbal flourishes may be mannered and involuted but hardly ever puzzle a patient and practiced reader (translating them is another matter). At the same time, Valerius is capable of lively, well-organized narrative, as in the Ceos episode, and many of his examples are interesting and informative, especially of course the minority not found in other sources.

Lacking the historical virtues, he is not overly careful in his use of his authorities: blunders are not rare and sometimes clangorous. Cicero, Livy, Varro, and Trogus are his standbys,[3] but he loves hype like any child of modern media.

In antiquity Valerius was not forgotten. In his encyclopedic *Natural History* the elder Pliny lists him among his sources, and Plutarch mentions him twice as a historical writer. Anonymous borrowings elsewhere are supported by two ancient epitomes (see below) as evidence of at least a modest vogue. For the medieval world thirty manuscripts are known to have been produced in the twelfth century or earlier. In the Renaissance they abounded, as did printed editions from 1470 on. For readers of that period, as Briscoe remarks (*Sileno* 1993, p. 395), Valerius provided easily digested information about episodes and customs in the non-Roman as well as the Roman world. But changes in literary taste and stricter canons of research put him out of reputation, at least until recent years, in which the same expert points to a marked resurgence of interest especially among anglophone scholars.

[3] My references to occurrences of Valerius' examples in earlier or later ancient authors derive with few exceptions from Kempf's first edition as supplemented in Briscoe's lists.

Text and Translation

With J. Briscoe's edition in the Teubner series (1998) Valerius at last acquires a good working apparatus and a (Latin) preface to which those interested in his textual problems must resort.

Until 1937 the text was held to depend on two very closely linked ninth-century manuscripts: Bernensis (A) and Ashburnhamensis (L). In that year D. M. Schullian promoted the eleventh-century Bruxellensis (G), and its claim to represent an independent version of their source (at one remove according to Briscoe) is now credited.[4] I have to state a different impression, admittedly not based on detailed research. G corrects many of AL's errors, but to my eyes its contribution resembles those of GR in Cicero's *Epistulae ad familiares* or the Leidensis of Tacitus: a farrago of hit-or-miss medieval conjecture with at best occasional survivals from an earlier stratum.

Numerous corrections, many of them in G, were entered in A by abbot Servatus Lupus, "the typical humanist of the ninth century" (F. W. Hall). He added many after he had gained access to Paris' Epitome (see Briscoe's preface, xiii f.).

Two epitomes have come down from late antiquity, by Julius Paris and Januarius Nepotianus, the latter stopping at 3.2.7. and too free to be of much use. Briscoe's edition has them in full; some others like the present one contain a specimen replacing a large gap in the manuscripts (1.1.ext.4–1.4.ext.1). Paris comes in a good ninth-century manuscript and he worked from a text often better, and of

[4] Ignored, however, by Combès (Budé 1995).

course very much older, than AL, often following its wording closely. But it is usually impossible to feel any assurance that a discrepancy from AL does not originate with the abridger. Of scarcely any interest is a flotsam "On praenomina," added in Paris as Valerius' tenth book but clearly not his.

Many of AL's corruptions have been convincingly emended, but others remain problematical and yet others no doubt undetected. Briscoe's text is lavish with the obelus, but his apparatus cites proposed remedies generously, usually without indication of preference. My text has been formed independently. Readability being an important consideration, I have been ready to espouse a conjecture in cases of choice between acceptables, especially where the doubt lies in the wording rather than the sense.[5] Some conjectures of my own are new, others are from a forthcoming article by W. S. Watt. My critical notes, necessarily kept to a minimum, ignore many trivial or obvious and generally accepted improvements on AL. The obelus has been a last resort.

Apart from the translation of Book I by D. Wardle in his commentary on the same (1998), I know of none in English except one by Samuel Speed in 1678, which I have not consulted. Translations exist in other languages (see the Bibliography). Nothing that can be called a commentary exists in any language except Wardle's aforesaid. This makes a good start on the historical and antiquarian side.

[5] "Conjectures in a prose text, though they may restore the meaning with certainty or probability, often admit of verbal variations. What editors should do in such cases is a matter of opinion" (SB, *Select Classical Papers*, p. 353).

Sigla

A = cod. Bernensis
L = cod. Florentinus Ashburnhamensis
G = cod. Bruxellensis
P = epitome of Paris (cod. Vaticanus)
Nepot. = epitome of Nepotianus
ς = inferior manuscripts or early editions
Br = see Briscoe's apparatus criticus
An asterisk indicates an obelus in Briscoe's text

Per. = Perizonius
SB = Shackleton Bailey in this edition
SB[1] = "Textual Notes on Lesser Latin Historians," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 1981, 158–67
SB[2] = *ibid.*, 1983, 239 (comments from E. Badian on *SB*[1])
SB[3] = "On Valerius Maximus" (*Rivista di fil. classica*, 1996, 175–84)
SB[4] = *Two Studies in Roman Nomenclature*, 2nd ed., 1991
Torr. = Torrenius (ed. 1726)
Watt[1] = W. S. Watt, "Notes on Valerius Maximus and Velleius Paterculus," *Klio* 1986, 465–73
Watt[2] = "Notes on Valerius Maximus," *Euphrosyne*, 1995, 237–42
Watt[3] = In Briscoe's edition
Watt[4] = "Notes on Valerius Maximus," forthcoming in *Eikasmos*

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Briscoe's list of editions, beginning with the princeps of 1470 (?), and other textual publications covers ten pages. The editions of K. Kempf (1854 and 1888) and K. Halm (1865) are the most important. The following list of non-textual items from 1899 on has been kindly contributed by C. J. Skidmore.

Translations

Blank-Sangmeister, U. *Valerius Maximus. Facta et Dicta Memorabilia. Denkwürdige Taten und Worte,* Stuttgart, 1992.

Combès, R. *Valère Maxime; Faits et dits mémorables,* I, livres 1–3, Paris, 1995; II, livres IV–VI, Paris, 1997.

Constant, P. *Actions et paroles mémorables,* Paris, 1935.

Faranda, R. *Detti & Fatti memorabili,* Turin, 1972.

Wardle, B. Valerius Maximus, Book I, Oxford, 1998, with commentary.

General Studies

André, J-M. "L'Otium chez Valère-Maxime et Velleius Paterculus," *Revue des études latines* 43 (1965), 294–315.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bloomer, W. M. *Valerius Maximus and the Rhetoric of the New Nobility,* London, 1992.

Carter, C. J. "Valerius Maximus" in *Empire and Aftermath,* ed. T. A. Dorey, London, 1975, 26–56.

Helm, R. "Valerius Maximus," (Nr. 239), *Paulys Real-encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* XV, second series (1955) col. 90–116.

Maslakov, G. "Valerius Maximus and Roman Historiography: A Study of the Exempla Tradition," *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II.32.1 (1984), 437–496.

Sinclair, B. W. "Valerius Maximus and the Evolution of Silver Latin," diss. University of Cincinnati, 1980.

Skidmore, C. J. *Practical Ethics for Roman Gentlemen; the Work of Valerius Maximus,* Exeter, 1996.

Valerius' Sources

Bliss, F. R. "Valerius Maximus and His Sources; A Stylistic Approach to the Problem," diss. University of North Carolina, 1951.

Bosch, C. *Die Quellen des Valerius Maximus,* Stuttgart, 1929.

Fleck, M. "Untersuchungen zu den Exempla des Valerius Maximus," diss. Marburg, 1974.

Helm, R. "Valerius Maximus, Seneca, und die Exemplasammlung," *Hermes* 74 (1939), 130–154.

Klotz, A. "Studien zu Valerius Maximus und den Exempla," *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 5 (1942), 1–113.

Maire, S. "De Diodoro Siculo Valerii Maximi auctore," *Progr. Schoeneberg,* 1899, 1–26.

Paladini, M. L. "Rapporti tra Velleio Patercolo e Valerio Massimo," *Latomus* XVI (1957), 232–251.

Ramelli, A. "Le Fonti di Valerio Massimo," *Athenaeum* 14 (1936), 117–152.

The Exempla Tradition

Alewell, K. *Über das rhetorische Paradeigma,* Leipzig, 1913.

Eyben, E. "The Concrete Ideal in the Life of the Young Roman," *L'Antiquité Classique* 41 (1972), 200–217.

Fears, J. R. "The Cult of Virtues and Roman Imperial Ideology," *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II.17.2 (1981), 827–948.

Kornhardt, H. "Exemplum, ein bedeutungsgeschichtliche Studie," diss. Gottingen, 1936.

Litchfield, H. W. "National Exempla Virtutis in Roman Literature," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 25 (1914), 1–71.

Lumpe, A. "Exemplum," *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* (1966), 48, col. 1229–1257.

Rambaud, M. *Cicéron et l'histoire romaine,* Paris, 1953.

Schoenberger, H. *Beispiele aus der Geschichte, ein rhetorisches Kunstmittel in Ciceros Reden,* Augsburg, 1911.

MEMORABLE DOINGS AND SAYINGS

LIBER PRIMUS

praef. Urbis Romae exterarumque gentium facta simul ac dicta memoratu digna, quae apud alios latius diffusa sunt quam ut breviter cognosci possint, ab illustribus electa auctoribus digerere[1] constitui, ut documenta sumere volentibus longae inquisitionis labor absit. nec mihi cuncta complectendi cupido incessit: quis enim omnis aevi gesta modico voluminum numero comprehenderit, aut quis compos mentis domesticae peregrinaeque historiae seriem felici superiorum stilo conditam vel attentiore cura vel praestantiore facundia traditurum se speraverit?

Te igitur huic coepto, penes quem hominum deorumque consensus maris ac terrae regimen esse voluit, certissima salus patriae, Caesar, invoco, cuius caelesti providentia virtutes, de quibus dicturus sum, benignissime foventur, vitia severissime vindicantur: nam si prisci oratores ab Iove Optimo Maximo bene orsi sunt, si excellentissimi vates a numine aliquo principia traxerunt, mea parvitas eo iustius ad favorem tuum decucurrerit, quo cetera divinitas opi-

[1] digerere *Meursius*: deligere AG: deleg- L

Note. Throughout dates are B.C. unless otherwise stated.

BOOK I

PREFACE

I have determined to select from famous authors and arrange the deeds and sayings worthy of memorial of the Roman City and external nations, too widely scattered in other sources to be briefly discovered, to the end that those wishing to take examples may be spared the labour of lengthy search. Nor am I seized with ambition to be all-embracing. Who should comprise the transactions of all time in a moderate number of volumes? Or who in his right mind should hope to transmit with closer care or superior eloquence the procession of domestic and foreign history recorded by the felicitous pens of predecessors?

Therefore I invoke you to this undertaking, Caesar,[1] surest salvation of the fatherland, in whose charge the unanimous will of gods and men has placed the governance of land and sea, by whose celestial providence the virtues of which I shall tell are most kindly fostered and the vices most sternly punished. Orators of old rightly began from Jupiter Best and Greatest, the finest poets took their start from some deity. My petty self shall betake me to your goodwill all the more properly in that other divinity is inferred by opinion whereas yours is seen by present cer-

[1] The emperor Tiberius.

nione colligitur, tua praesenti fide paterno avitoque sideri par videtur, quorum eximio fulgore multum caerimoniis nostris inclutae claritatis[2] accessit: reliquos enim deos accepimus, Caesares dedimus.

Et quoniam initium a cultu deorum petere in animo est, de condicione eius summatim disseram.

1. DE RELIGIONE

1a Maiores statas sollemnesque caerimonias pontificum scientia, bene gerendarum rerum auctoritate<s>[3] augurum observatione, Apollinis praedictione<s>[4] vatum libris, portentorum depulsi<one>s[5] Etrusca disciplina explicari voluerunt. prisco etiam instituto rebus divinis opera datur: cum aliquid commendandum est, precatione; cum exposcendum, voto; cum solvendum, gratulatione; cum inquirendum vel extis vel sortibus, impetrito; cum sollemni ritu peragendum, sacrificio, quo etiam ostentorum ac fulgurum denuntiationes procurantur.

[2] claritatis ς: alacr- AL [3] *add. Pighius* [4] *item*
[5] *add. Vorst*

---

[2] Augustus was deified by the senate when he died and a senator swore to having seen him ascend to heaven. Coins with his head and a star above it were issued by Tiberius. Julius Caesar was identified with a comet that appeared after his death, *Iulium sidus* of Hor. *Od.* 1.12.47.

[3] With *videmus* (Watt[3], improving on *vidimus* advocated by D. P. Fowler) read for *dedimus*, the idea already expressed in *cetera . . . videtur* is repeated out of place; better keep *dedimus*, showing why Rome can take particular pride in this accession.

tainty as equal to the star of your father and grandfather,[2] through whose peerless radiance much far-famed lustre has accrued to our ceremonies. For other gods we have received, the Caesars we have bestowed.[3]

And since I intend to begin with the worship of the gods, I shall summarily treat of its nature.

1. OF RELIGION[1]

Our ancestors decreed that fixed and customary ceremonies[2] be managed through the science of Pontiffs, guidance for the good conduct of affairs through the observations of Augurs, Apollo's prophecies through books of the seers,[3] aversion of portents through Etruscan discipline.[4] By ancient ordinance also rituals are performed: in commending, by prayer; in demanding, by vow;[5] in discharging, by offer of thanks; in enquiring, whether by entrails or lots, by solicitation of response;[6] in performing of customary rite, by sacrifice, wherewith also warnings of prodigies or lightnings are expiated.

[1] The chapter headings may not be original.

[2] The terms are standard. *Statae* applies to rites fixed by the calendar to particular days, *sollemnes* probably to those annually recurrent but not so fixed (movable feasts); cf. Ov. *Fast.* 1.660 *quid a fastis non stata sacra petis?*

[3] The Sibylline books.

[4] The preceding list comes almost word for word from Cic. *Har. resp.* 18.

[5] In a vow something was promised in return for the granting of a prayer.

[6] *Impetrito*, a rare technical term, perhaps denoting a preliminary request by the enquirer for a favourable sign.

1b Tantum autem studium antiquis non solum servandae sed etiam amplificandae religionis fuit ut florentissima tum et opulentissima civitate decem principum filii senatus consulto singulis Etruriae populis percipiendae sacrorum disciplinae gratia traderentur, Cererique, quam more Graeco venerari instituerant, sacerdotem a Velia, cum id oppidum nondum civitatis accepisset nomen, Calliphanam[6] peterent, ne deae vetustis ritibus perita deesset antistes.

1c Cuius cum in urbe pulcherrimum templum haberent, Gracchano tumultu moniti Sibyllinis libris ut vetustissimam Cererem placarent, Hennam, quoniam sacra eius inde orta credebant, quindecimviros ad eam propitiandam miserunt, item Matri deum saepenumero imperatores nostri compotes victoriarum suscepta vota Pessinuntem profecti solverunt.

2 Metellus vero pontifex maximus Postumium consulem eundemque flaminem Martialem ad bellum gerendum Africam petentem, ne a sacris discederet, multa dicta urbem egredi passus non est, religionique summum imperium cessit, quod tuto se Postumius Martio certamini commissurus non videbatur caerimoniis Martis desertis.

[6] Br

---

[7] From Cic. *Div.* 1.92, but both passages are problematical.

[8] "The key distinction here is the use of priestesses and the exclusion of men from the rites" (Wardle).

[9] See Cic. *Balb.* 55. The priestess was given Roman citizenship *ca.* 96, prior to Velia's acquisition of it in 90 (?).

[10] Cicero in *Verr.* 2.4.108 speaks of priests from the decemviral college. This college, *sacris faciundis*, also in charge of the

Such was the zeal of the ancients not only for the observance but for the expansion of religion that when Rome was highly flourishing and wealthy, ten sons of leading men were handed over to each of the peoples of Etruria by decree of the senate to learn sacred lore.[7] Also they sought a priestess named Calliphana for Ceres, whom they had commenced to worship after the Greek fashion,[8] from Velia, before that town had been given citizenship, so that the ancient rites of the goddess should not want for a skilled ministrant.[9]

And although they had a splendid temple of hers in Rome, they sent a delegation of fifteen[10] to Henna (since her worship was believed to have originated there) to propitiate her, admonished by the Sibylline Books during the Gracchan upheaval to appease "most ancient Ceres." Likewise when our generals had gained victories they often travelled to Pessinus and paid the vows they had taken to the Mother of the Gods.[11]

When the Consul Postumius, who was also Flamen of Mars, purposed to go to Africa[12] to wage war, the Chief Pontiff Metellus named a fine and would not allow him to leave Rome, lest he depart from his religious duties. The highest state power yielded to religion; for it seemed Postumius would not safely commit himself to martial conflict after abandoning Mars' rituals.

Sibylline books, had ten members at that time, later raised to fifteen. Paris' epitome also gives the number as ten.

11 Cf. Cic. *Har. resp.* 28. The only example recorded is that of Marius, probably in 98 (Plut. *Marc.* 31).

12 In 242: Livy *Per.* 19 and 37.51 etc. Postumius was going to Sicily, not Africa.

3 Laudabile duodecim fascium religiosum obsequium, laudabilior quattuor et viginti in consimili re oboedientia: a Tiberio enim Graccho ad collegium augurum litteris ex provincia missis, quibus significabat se, cum libros ad sacra populi pertinentes legeret, animadvertisse vitio tabernaculum captum comitiis consularibus, quae ipse fecisset, eaque re ab auguribus ad senatum relata, iussu eius C. Figulus e Gallia, Scipio Nasica e Corsica Romam redierunt et se consulatu abdicaverunt.

4 Consimili ratione P. Cloelius ‹Siculus›[7] M. Cornelius Cethegus C. Claudius propter exta parum curiose admota deorum immortalium ‹aris›[8] variis temporibus bellisque diversis flamonio abire iussi sunt coactique etiam.

5 At ‹Q.› Sulpicio inter sacrificandum e capite apex prolapsus idem[9] sacerdotium abstulit, occentusque soricis auditus Fabio Maximo dictaturam, C. Flaminio magisterium equitum deponendi causam praebuit.

6 Adiciendum his quod P. Licinio pontifici maximo virgo Vestalis, quia quadam nocte parum diligens aeterni ignis custos fuisset, digna visa est quae flagro admoneretur.

[7] *add.* P; Br [8] *add.* P [9] idem *Lipsius*: ei- AL

---

[13] I.e. the Consul, who had twelve lictors bearing fasces.

[14] 163: Cicero mentions the incident in *Nat. deor.* 2.10f. and elsewhere.

[15] One of this name became Rex sacrorum in 180. His removal is not mentioned elsewhere.

[16] Between 225 and 222. He may have been a Flamen Dialis, as was Claudius: cf. Plut. *Marc.* 5, T. R. S. Broughton, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic*, I.232.

[17] 211: Livy 26.23.8.

Praise is due to the religious obedience of the twelve fasces;[13] yet more to the compliance of twenty-four in similar circumstances. Ti. Gracchus sent a letter from his province to the College of Augurs stating that in reading books pertinent to the public rituals he had noticed that in the consular elections which he had himself conducted there had been an irregularity in the siting of the augural tent. The Augurs reported the matter to the senate and by its order C. Figulus returned to Rome from Gaul and Scipio Nasica from Corsica and resigned their Consulships.[14]

On a similar principle P. Cloelius Siculus,[15] M. Cornelius Cethegus,[16] and C. Claudius[17] in various times and different wars were ordered and even compelled to quit office as Flamens on account of entrails taken to the altars of the immortal gods without proper care.

Furthermore, as Q. Sulpicius was offering sacrifice, the mitre slipped from his head, thus depriving him of the same priestly office.[18] And the disturbing sound of a mouse squeaking gave cause to Fabius Maximus to lay down his Dictatorship and C. Flaminius his Mastership of the Horse.[19]

To the above it has to be added that a Vestal Virgin who one night had been negligent in her guardianship of the eternal fire was adjudged to deserve an admonitory flogging by the Chief Pontiff P. Licinius.[20]

18 About 223: Plut. *Marc.* 5.

19 Plut. *Marc.* 5, where the Dictator is erroneously called Minucius; see Broughton I.235 n.3, dating to 221.

20 207/206: Livy 28.11.6.

7 Maximae vero virginis Aemiliae discipulam exstincto igne tutam ab omni reprehensione Vestae numen praestitit. qua adorante, cum carbasum, quem optimum habebat, foculo imposuisset, subito ignis emicuit.

8 Non mirum igitur si pro eo imperio augendo custodiendoque pertinax deorum indulgentia[10] semper excubuit quo[11] tam scrupulosa cura parvula quoque momenta religionis examinari videntur, quia numquam remotos ab exactissimo cultu caerimoniarum oculos habuisse nostra civitas existimanda est. in qua cum ‹M.›[12] Marcellus quintum consulatum gerens templum Honori et Virtuti, Clastidio prius deinde Syracusis potitus, nuncupatis debitum votis consecrare vellet, a collegio pontificum impeditus est, negante unam cellam duobus dis recte dicari: futurum enim, si quid prodigii in ea accidisset, ne dinosceretur utri rem divinam fieri oporteret, nec duobus nisi certis dis una sacrificari solere. ea pontificum admonitione effectum est ut Marcellus separatis aedibus Honoris ac Virtutis simulacra statueret, neque aut collegio pontificum auctoritas amplissimi viri aut Marcello adiectio impensae impedimento fuit quo minus religionibus suus tenor suaque observatio redderetur.

[10] deorum indulgentia ς: eorum indul- deorum AL
[11] quo *Kempf*: quod* AL [12] *add.* P

---

[21] Dion. Hal. 2.68, Prop. 4.11.53. In the former's version the Vestal to whom Aemilia had entrusted the flame let it out; the prayer and resulting miracle were Aemilia's, not the delinquent's (as apparently in Valerius). We have no date for the story.

But a pupil of the Chief Virgin Aemilia was freed of all blame by Vesta's divine power. For when the fire went out, she prayed and placed a linen cloth of fine quality which she was wearing upon the hearth; and suddenly a flame shot up.[21]

No wonder therefore if the indulgence of the gods has persisted, ever watchful to augment and protect an imperial power by which even minor items of religious significance are seen to be weighed with such scrupulous care; for never should our community be thought to have averted its eyes from the most meticulous practice of religious observances. In which community, when M. Marcellus, taker first of Clastidium and then of Syracuse, desired in his fifth Consulship[22] to consecrate a temple to Honour and Virtue in due discharge of vows taken, he was obstructed by the College of Pontiffs on the ground that a single sanctuary could not properly be dedicated to two deities, arguing that if some prodigy were to occur therein, it would be impossible to determine to which of the two an expiatory ceremony should be performed and that it was not customary to sacrifice to two deities at once, with certain exceptions. The pontifical admonition resulted in Marcellus placing images of Honour and Virtue in two different shrines. Thus neither the authority of so great a man weighed with the College of Pontiffs nor the additional expense with Marcellus so as to interfere with due course and due observance rendered in matters of religion.

[22] 206: Livy 27.25.7–10 etc. Marcellus took Clastidium in 222 and Syracuse in 211.

9 Obruitur tot et tam[13] illustribus consulatibus[14] L. Furius Bibaculus, exemplique locum vix post Marcellum invenit, sed pii simul ac religiosi animi laude fraudandus non est. qui praetor, a patre suo collegii Saliorum magistro iussus, sex lictoribus praecedentibus arma ancilia tulit, quamvis vacationem huius officii honoris beneficio haberet: omnia namque post religionem ponenda semper nostra civitas duxit, etiam in quibus summae maiestatis conspici decus voluit. quapropter non dubitaverunt sacris imperia servire, ita se humanarum rerum futura regimen existimantia si divinae potentiae bene atque constanter fuissent famulata.

10 Quod animi iudicium in privatorum quoque pectoribus versatum est: urbe enim a Gallis capta, cum flamen Quirinalis virginesque Vestales sacra onere partito ferrent, easque pontem Sublicium transgressas et clivum, qui ducit ad Ianiculum, escendere[15] incipientes L. Albanius[16] plaustro coniugem et liberos vehens aspexisset, propior publicae religioni quam privatae caritati sui<s> ut plaustro descenderent imperavit, atque in id virgines et sacra imposita omisso coepto itinere Caere[17] oppidum pervexit, ubi cum summa veneratione recepta. grata memoria ad

[13] et tam *Lipsius*: etiam AL
[14] consulatibus *Lipsius*: -aribus AL
[15] escendere *Lipsius*: des- AL
[16] Albinius *Kempf*
[17] Caere A *corr.*, P (*om.* opp-): Ceretem LG; Br

---

[23] Praetor in 219 or earlier (Broughton I.237). The story recurs in Lactantius *Inst.* 1.21.47.

L. Furius Bibaculus[23] is overwhelmed by so many illustrious Consulships and coming after Marcellus with difficulty finds a place among our examples; yet he must not be cheated of the credit due to his filial and religious spirit. As Praetor, at the direction of his father who was head of the College of Salii, he bore the sacred shields, preceded by his six lictors, even though by virtue of his magistracy he was entitled to exemption from this office. For our community has ever held that all things must yield to religion, even in the case of personages in whom it wished the splendour of most exalted dignity to be displayed. So holders of state power[24] never hesitated to minister to holy things in the belief that theirs would be the governance of human affairs only if they gave good and faithful service to the power of the gods.

This conviction has also been at work in the hearts of private persons. When Rome was captured by the Gauls[25] and the Flamen of Quirinus and the Vestal Virgins were transporting the sacred objects, dividing the load between them, they crossed the Pons Sublicius and began to ascend the slope that leads to Janiculum. L. Albanius, who was carrying his wife and daughters in a cart, saw them. Public religion being closer to him than private affection, he told his family to get down from the cart and put the Virgins and cult objects into it, and abandoning the journey he had begun took them to the town of Caere, where they were received with profound reverence. Grateful memory bears

24 *Imperia.* Marcellus as Consul and Bibaculus as Praetor held *imperium.*

25 390: Livy 5.40 etc. On Albanius, rather than Albinius, see *Harv. Stud. Class. Phil.* 92 (1989).213.

hoc usque tempus hospitalem humanitatem testatur: inde enim institutum est sacra caerimonias vocari, quia Caeretani ea infracto rei publicae statu perinde ac florente sancte coluerunt. quorum agreste illud et sordidius plaustrum tempestive capax cuiuslibet fulgentissimi triumphalis currus vel aequaverit gloriam vel antecesserit.

11 Eadem rei publicae tempestate C. Fabius Dorsuo memorabile exemplum servatae religionis dedit: namque Gallis Capitolium obsidentibus, ne statum Fabiae gentis sacrificium interrumperetur, Gabino ritu cinctus, manibus umerisque sacra gerens, per medias hostium stationes in Quirinalem collem pervenit. ubi omnibus sollemni more peractis in Capitolium propter divinam venerationem victricium armorum perinde ac victor rediit.

12 Magna conservandae religionis etiam P. Cornelio Baebio Tamphilo consulibus apud maiores nostros acta cura est; si quidem in agro L. Petillii scribae sub Ianiculo cultoribus terram altius versantibus, duabus arcis lapideis repertis, quarum in altera scriptura indicabat corpus Numae Pompilii fuisse, in altera libri reconditi erant Latini septem de iure pontificum[18] totidemque Graeci de disciplina sapientiae, Latinos magna diligentia adservandos curaverunt, Graecos, quia aliqua ex parte ad solvendam religionem pertinere existimabantur, Q. Petillius praetor urbanus ex auctoritate senatus per victimarios facto igni in

[18] pontificio *coni. Briscoe* (*sic Livius*)

---

[26] The real etymology is unknown.

[27] Livy 5.46.1–3. The story existed in two versions (Broughton I.96).

witness to its kindly hospitality even to this day, for sacred rites got to be called "ceremonies"[26] because the inhabitants of Caere cared for them in the shattered state of our commonwealth as reverently as when it had been flourishing. Their rustic, rather grimy cart, so opportunely capacious, might equal or surpass the glory of the most effulgent of triumphal chariots.

In the same time of our state's trouble, C. Fabius Dorsuo[27] gave a shining example of religion observed. The Gauls were besieging the Capitol. Rather than let the appointed sacrifice of the clan Fabia be interrupted, girt in the Gabine fashion and bearing the cult objects in his arms and on his shoulders, he made his way through the midst of the enemy pickets to the Quirinal hill. There he went through the entire ritual in regular form and returned to the Capitol as though victor over victorious arms because of their reverence for the divine.

Notable also the care for the conservation of religion taken among our ancestors in the Consulship of P. Cornelius and Baebius Tamphilus.[28] On land belonging to L. Petillius, a scribe, below Janiculum, as farmers turned the soil rather more deeply than usual, two stone chests were discovered. One of them writing showed to have contained the body of Numa Pompilius, in the other were hidden seven Latin volumes concerning pontifical law and as many Greek on a system of wisdom. They saw to the preservation of the Latin with all diligence, but the City Praetor Q. Petillius by the senate's authority publicly burned

[28] 181: Livy 40.29.3–14. The story was in the second-century annalist Cassius Hemina, quoted by Pliny *N.H.* 13.86 and other early sources.

conspectu populi cremavit: noluerunt enim prisci viri quicquam in hac adservari civitate quo animi hominum a deorum cultu avocarentur.

13 Tarquinius autem rex M. Atilium[19] duumvirum, quod librum secreta[20] civilium sacrorum continentem, custodiae suae commissum corruptus Petronio Sabino describendum dedisset, culleo insutum in mare abici iussit, idque supplicii genus multo post parricidis lege irrogatum est, iustissime quidem, quia pari vindicta parentum ac deorum violatio expianda est.

14 Sed quae ad custodiam religionis attinent, nescio an omnes M. Atilius Regulus praecesserit, qui ex victore speciosissimo insidiis Hasdrubalis et Xanthippi Lacedaemonii ducis ad miserabilem captivi fortunam deductus ac missus ad senatum populumque Romanum legatus, ut [ex][21] se et uno et sene complures Poenorum iuvenes pensarentur, in contrarium dato consilio Carthaginem petiit, non quid[22] ignarus ad quam crudeles quamque merito sibi infestos [deos][23] reverteretur, verum quia iis iuraverat, si captivi eorum redditi non forent, ad eos sese redituru m. potuerunt profecto di immortales efferatam mitigare saevitiam. ceterum, quo clarior esset Atilii gloria, Carthaginienses moribus suis uti passi sunt, tertio Punico bello

[19] Atilium *Kempf*: Tullium AL
[20] secreta ς: -tarium* (-torium L) AL
[21] *del. Lipsius*
[22] quidem *Kempf*: quod AL
[23] deos* *om.* ς

---

[29] Cf. Dion. Hal. 4.62.4.
[30] Regulus was captured by the Carthaginians in 255, but the

the Greek in a fire made by the sacrificial attendants because they were thought in part to pertain to the dissolution of religion. For the men of old misliked that aught be preserved in this community by which men's minds might be turned away from the worship of the gods.

M. Atilius the Duumvir[29] was bribed to give Petronius the Sabine for copying a book containing secrets of civic rituals that had been placed in his custody. King Tarquin ordered him sewn into a sack and cast into the sea, a form of punishment which long afterward was ordained by law for parricides; most justly so, since violation of parents and gods deserved to be expiated by an equal retribution.

But in what concerns the safekeeping of religion, M. Atilius Regulus[30] may be thought to take first place. From a brilliant victor reduced to the pitiable condition of a prisoner by the wiles of Hasdrubal and the Spartan captain Xanthippus, he was sent envoy to the senate and people of Rome to the end that a number of young Carthaginians be exchanged for one old man: himself. But Regulus advised against and then went back to Carthage, not indeed unaware how cruel and how deservedly incensed against him were those to whom he was returning, but because he had given them his oath that he would come back to them if their prisoners were not returned. Doubtless the immortal gods could have mitigated their inhuman savagery, but to shed more lustre on Atilius' glory they let the Carthaginians act after their fashion: only to exact just ven-

date and even the authenticity of the subsequent items is uncertain. They are often mentioned in Cicero and later; cf. *Harv. Stud. Class. Phil.* 83 (1979).272, where add Gell. 7.4 and this of Valerius.

religiosissimi spiritus tam crudeliter vexati urbis eorum interitu iusta exacturi piacula.

15 Quanto nostrae civitatis senatus venerabilior in deos! qui post Cannensem cladem decrevit ne matronae ultra tricesimum diem luctus suos extenderent, uti ab iis sacra Cereris peragi possent, quia maiore paene Romanarum virium parte in exsecrabili ac diro solo iacente nullius penates maeroris expertes erant. itaque matres ac filiae coniugesque et sorores nuper interfectorum abstersis lacrimis depositisque doloris insignibus candidam induere vestem et aris tura dare coactae sunt. qua quidem constantia obtinendae religionis magnus caelestibus iniectus est rubor ulterius adversus eam saeviendi gentem quae ne iniuriarum quidem acerbitate ab eorum cultu absterreri potuerit.

DE NEGLECTA RELIGIONE

16 Creditum est Varronem consulem apud Cannas cum Carthaginiensibus tam infeliciter dimicasse ob iram Iunonis, quod cum ludos circenses aedilis faceret, in Iovis Optimi Maximi tensa eximia facie puerum histrionem ad exuvias tenendas posuisset. quod factum, post aliquot annos memoria repetitum, sacrificiis expiatum est.

17 Hercules quoque detractae religionis suae et gravem et manifestam poenam exegisse traditur: nam cum Potitii sacrorum eius ritum, quem pro dono genti eorum ab ipso adsignatum velut hereditarium obtinuerant, auctore Ap-

---

[31] 216: Livy 22.56.4f. (slightly garbled in Valerius, if Livy was his source).

geance for the truly scrupulous soul so cruelly tormented by the destruction of their city in the Third Punic War.

How much more reverent towards the gods was the senate of our community! After the disaster at Cannae[31] it was decreed that matrons should not extend their mourning beyond thirty days so that the rites of Ceres could be celebrated by them; for with the greater part of Rome's strength lying on dire and accursed soil, nobody's home was free of grief. So the mothers and daughters and wives and sisters of those recently slain were obliged to wipe away their tears, lay aside the emblems of sorrow, don white clothing, and give incense to the altars. By such resolution in the maintenance of religion the heavenly beings were made much ashamed to wreak further cruelty upon a nation which could not be scared away from their worship even by harshness of injuries.

OF RELIGION NEGLECTED

It was believed that Consul Varro[32] met with such misfortune in his battle with the Carthaginians at Cannae because of Juno's wrath by reason of his having as Aedile in charge of the Circus Games placed an exceptionally handsome boy actor in the wagon of Jupiter Best and Greatest to hold the divine appurtenances. Some years later this act was recalled to memory and sacrificially expiated.

Hercules also is said to have exacted a grievous and manifest penalty for the degrading of his cult. The Potitii had held the celebration of his rites as a gift assigned to their clan as in heredity by himself. But at the prompting of

[32] C. Terentius Varro, Consul in 216, had been Aedile in 220. Lactant. *Inst.* 2.16.16 mentions the story.

pio censore ad humile servorum ‹publicorum›[24] ministerium transtulissent, omnes, qui erant numero super triginta, puberes intra annum exstincti sunt nomenque Potitium in duodecim familias divisum prope interiit. Appius vero luminibus captus est.

18 Acer etiam sui numinis vindex Apollo, qui, Carthagine a Romanis oppressa veste aurea nudatus, id egit ut sacrilegae manus inter fragmenta eius abscisae invenirentur.

19 Nec minus efficax ultor contemptae religionis filius quoque eius Aesculapius, qui consecratum templo suo lucum a Turullio praefecto Antonii ad naves ei faciendas magna ex parte succisum ‹indignatus›,[25] inter ipsum nefarium ministerium devictis partibus Antonii, imperio Caesaris morti destinatum Turullium manifestis numinis sui viribus in eum locum quem violaverat traxit, effecitque ut ibi potissimum a militibus Caesarianis occisus eodem exitio et eversis iam arboribus poenas lueret et adhuc superantibus immunitatem consimilis iniuriae pareret, suamque venerationem, quam apud colentes maximam semper habuerat, bis multiplicavit.[26]

20 Q. autem Fulvius Flaccus impune non tulit, quod in

[24] publicorum *add. Kempf*: -cos P [25] *add. Kempf* (qui ... succisum *intra cruces Briscoe*) [26] bis m- *SB*[1]: dism-* AL

---

[33] Ap. Claudius Caecus, Censor in 312. The praenomen, rarely found outside the patrician Claudii, is often thus used by itself. The story of the Potitii in Livy 9.29.9–11 comes in many later authors with minor variations.

[34] Appian, *Lib.* 127, mentions the plunder but not the divine retribution. Plutarch (*Titus* 1) refers to a statue of Apollo in Rome brought from Carthage.

Censor Appius[33] they had transferred it into the lowly hands of public slaves. All their adult males, numbering more than thirty, perished within the year, and the name of Potitius, which had been divided among twelve families, almost became extinct. As for Appius, he was struck blind.

Apollo too was prompt to defend his deity. When Carthage was taken by the Romans, he was stripped of his golden robe, but he saw to it that the sacrilegious hands were found severed among its fragments.[34]

Neither was his son Aesculapius a less effective avenger of religion flouted, indignant that a grove consecrated to his temple had been in large part cut down by Antony's Prefect Turullius[35] to make ships for his commander. But Antony's forces had been defeated even as the wicked work was in progress and the angry god by the manifest power of his deity drew Turullius (now condemned to death by Caesar's order) into the grove that he had violated and thus brought to pass his execution by Caesarian soldiers in that very spot. So destroyed, Turullius paid penalty to the trees already cut down and gave immunity from similar outrage to the survivors. And so the god multiplied twofold[36] the devout reverence he had always enjoyed among his worshippers.

Not with impunity did Q. Fulvius Flaccus in his Cen-

[35] One of Caesar's assassins, he fell into the hands of Octavian the year after Actium, who had him executed at the scene of his sacrilege (Dio 51.8.2f., Lactant. *Inst.* 2.7.17).

[36] "Fort. *bis* (sic etiam Shackleton Bailey (1996))" Briscoe in app. crit. Why "etiam"? Wardle's note, including a misreference, is a curiosity.

censura tegulas marmoreas ex Iunonis Laciniae templo in aedem Fortunae Equestris, quam Romae faciebat, transtulit: negatur enim post hoc factum mente constitisse. quin etiam per summam aegritudinem animi exspiravit, cum ex duobus filiis in Illyrico militantibus alterum decessisse, alterum graviter audisset adfectum. cuius casu motus senatus tegulas Locros reportandas curavit, decretique circumspectissima sanctitate impium opus censoris retexuit.

21 Tam me hercule quam Pleminii, legati Scipionis, in thesauro Proserpinae spoliando sceleratam avaritiam iusta animadversione vindicavit: cum enim eum vinctum Romam pertrahi iussisset, [qui][27] ante causae dictionem in carcere taeterrimo genere morbi consumptus est, pecuniam dea eiusdem senatus imperio et quidem summam duplicando recuperavit.

ext. 1 Quae, quod ad Pleminii facinus pertinuit, bene a patribus conscriptis vindicata, quod ad violentas regis Pyrrhi sordes attinuerat, se ipsa potenter atque efficaciter defendit: coactis enim Locrensibus ex thesauro eius magnam illi pecuniam dare, cum onustus nefaria praeda navigaret, vi subitae tempestatis tota cum classe vicinis deae litoribus illisus est, in quibus pecunia incolumis reperta sanctissimi thesauri custodiae restituta est.

ext. 2 At non similiter Masinissa rex. cuius cum praefectus classis Melitam appulisset et aeque ex fano Iunonis dentes

[27] *om.* ς*

---

[37] In 174. Cf. Livy 42.3, 42.10.5.

[38] By mistake for Croton (VM 1.8.ext.18). The tiles could not be replaced (Livy 42.3.11).

sorship[37] transfer marble tiles from the temple of Juno Lacinia to the shrine of Equestrian Fortune which he was building in Rome. For it is said that after this action he was not of sound mind. What is more, he died in the utmost distress, after learning that one of his two sons then serving in Illyricum had lost his life and the other had been gravely hurt. Shocked by his fate, the senate had the tiles brought back to Locri[38] and thus undid the Censor's impious work by the prudent sanctity of its decree.

No less zealously to be sure did it visit with just punishment the criminal avarice of Scipio's Legate Pleminius in despoiling the treasury of Proserpine, giving orders that he be hauled in chains to Rome, where before trial he died in prison of a horrible kind of disease. The goddess by command of the same senate recovered the money and that in double the amount.[39]

EXTERNAL

Well avenged by the Conscript Fathers in the matter of Pleminius' crime, she defended herself powerfully and effectively as concerned the violence and greed of king Pyrrhus. He had forced the Locrians to give him a large sum from her treasury and was sailing laden with his nefarious plunder when the force of a sudden storm dashed him with all his fleet upon the shore in the neighbourhood of the goddess. There the money was found intact and restored to the custody of that holy treasury.[40]

Not so king Masinissa. His naval commander had put in at Malta and like Pyrrhus taken ivory tusks of extraordi-

39 205: Livy 29.8.6–9.12 etc.
40 276: Livy 29.18.3–7 etc.

eburneos eximiae magnitudinis sublatos ad eum pro dono attulisset, ut comperit unde essent advecti, quinqueremi reportandos Melitam inque templo Iunonis collocandos curavit, insculptos gentis suae litteris significantibus regem ignorantem eos accepisse, libenter deae reddidisse. factum Masinissae animo quam Punico sanguini conveniens!

ext. 3 Quamquam quid attinet mores natione perpendi? <is>[28] in media barbaria ortus sacrilegium alienum rescidit: Syracusis genitus Dionysius tot sacrilegia sua quot iam recognoscemus[29] iocosis dictis prosequi voluptatis loco duxit: fano enim Proserpinae spoliato Locris, cum per altum secundo vento classe veheretur, ridens amicis 'videtisne' ait 'quam bona navigatio ab ipsis dis immortalibus sacrilegis tribuatur?' detracto etiam Iovi Olympio magni ponderis aureo amiculo, quo eum tyrannus Gelo e manubiis Carthaginiensium ornaverat, iniectoque ei laneo pallio dixit aestate grave esse aureum amiculum, hieme frigidum, laneum autem ad utrumque tempus anni aptius. idem Epidauri Aesculapio barbam auream demi iussit, quod adfirmaret non convenire patrem Apollinem imberbem, ipsum barbatum conspici. idem mensas argenteas atque aureas e fanis sustulit, quodque in his more Graeciae scriptum erat bonorum deorum eas esse, uti se bonitate

[28] *add. Watt*[3] [29] -cemus *Halm*: -cimus AL

---

[41] Cf. Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.103. Masinissa's long reign ended in 149. He was a Numidian, not a Carthaginian.

[42] Cic. *Nat. deor.* 3.83f. etc. Dionysius I was despot of Syracuse 405–367.

[43] Tyrant of Syracuse, who won a great victory over the Car-

nary size from Juno's temple. These he brought to the king as a gift. But when Masinissa learned where they came from, he had them brought back to Malta in a quinquerime and placed in Juno's temple, graven with letters in the writing of his people to signify that the king had received them in ignorance and gladly returned them to the goddess. An act more suitable to Masinissa's character than to his Punic blood.[41]

And yet why assess manners by nationality? One born in the midst of barbary undid another's sacrilege. Whereas Dionysius, a native of Syracuse, took pleasure in following up his acts of sacrilege, as many as I shall presently relate, with playful quips.[42] After plundering the temple of Proserpine in Locri, as he sailed the sea with his fleet under a favourable breeze, he said laughing to his friends: "Do you see what a fair passage the immortal gods themselves give the sacrilegious?" Also, after stripping Olympian Jupiter of his golden garment of great weight, with which the tyrant Gelo[43] had adorned him out of spoils of the Carthaginians, and replacing it with a woollen cloak, he said that a golden mantle was heavy in summer and chilly in winter, whereas a woollen one would be more comfortable in either season. The same personage ordered that Aesculapius' golden beard at Epidaurus be removed, affirming that it was unsuitable for Aesculapius' father Apollo to be seen beardless and he himself with a beard. He also took gold and silver tables from sanctuaries, and since after the custom of Greece they were inscribed "property of the good gods," he gave out that he was mak-

thaginians at Himera in 480. Indexes confuse him with the Gelo of 3.2.ext.9.

eorum praedicavit. idem Victorias aureas et pateras et coronas, quae simulacrorum porrectis manibus sustinebantur, tollebat, et eas se accipere non auferre dicebat, perquam stultum esse argumentando, a quibus bona precamur, ab his porrigentibus nolle sumere. qui, tametsi debita supplicia non exsolvit, dedecore tamen filii mortuus poenas rependit quas vivus effugerat: lento enim gradu ad vindictam sui divina procedit ira, tarditatemque supplicii gravitate pensat.

ext. 4 In quam ne incideret Timasitheus Liparitanorum princeps consilio sibi pariter[30] atque universae patriae utili providit [exemplo].[31] excepta namque in freto a civibus suis piraticam exercentibus magni ponderis aurea cratera, quam Romani Pythio Apollini decimarum nomine dicaverant, incitato ad eam partiendam populo, ut comperit <...>[32]

(Par.) curavit Delphos perferendam.

ext. 5 *(Par.)* Milesia Ceres, Mileto ab Alexandro capta, milites qui templum spoliaturi irruperant, flamma obiecta privavit oculis.

(Nepot.) Alexander Magnus Miletum cepit. cum milites etiam Cereris templum introissent, excaecati sunt, ne inspicerent secreta tantum feminis cognita.

[30] pariter ς: aliter* AL
[31] *del. Halm* (consilio ... exemplo *intra cruces Briscoe*)
[32] *post* comperit *grandem lacunam habent* ALG

---

[44] After the taking of Veii in 396. The Romans rewarded Timasitheus and later his descendants for sending on the offering to Delphi: Livy 5.28.3–5, Diodor. 14.93.

ing use of their goodness. Also he used to carry off the golden Victories and dishes and garlands held in the outstretched hands of images, saying that he was accepting, not taking them away, arguing that it made no sense at all not to take good things when proffered by those to whom we pray for them. Although he never paid the penalties he deserved, yet he did get the punishment he had escaped in his lifetime through the disgrace of his son after his death. For divine wrath advances to take its vengeance at a slow pace and makes up for tardiness of retribution by severity.

To which lest he fall victim, Timasitheus, a leading man in Lipara, made provision in a manner useful both to himself and to his entire country. A golden bowl of great weight which the Romans had dedicated to Pythian Apollo as tithes[44] had fallen in the Straits into the hands of his compatriots in their practice of piracy, and the people were urged to divide it up. When he learned the facts, he had it taken to Delphi.

From epitomes of Julius Paris and Januarius Nepotianus

Paris. When Miletus was taken by Alexander, Milesian Ceres met soldiers who had broken into her temple and were about to plunder it with a flame and blinded them.[45]

Nepotianus. Alexander the Great took Miletus. When his soldiers entered among others the temple of Ceres, they were blinded, lest they should see secrets known only to women.

[45] 334: Lactant. *Inst.* 2.7.19.

ext. 6 *(Par.)* Persae, mille navium numero Delum compulsi [complexi][33] templo Apollinis religiosas potius manus quam rapaces adhibuerunt.

(Nepot.) Persae mille navibus implevere Delum, et cum divitiae in praedas possent allicere victores, omnibus spoliis temperatum est in dei honorem.

ext. 7 *(Par.)* Athenienses Protagoram philosophum pepulerunt, quia scribere ausus fuerat primum ignorare se an di essent, deinde, si sint, quales. iidem Socratem damnaverunt, quod novam religionem introducere videbatur. iidem Phidiam tulerunt quam diu marmore potius quam ebore Minervam fieri debere dicebat, quod diutius nitorem mansurum, sed ut adiecit et vilius, tacere iusserunt.

(Nepot.) Pythagoras philosophus ab Atheniensibus pulsus est librique eius publice exusti, quod scripserat ignora<ri>[34] an di essent, ac si essent, quales essent non posse sciri. Socrates in eadem urbe damnatus est, quod contra religiones nonnumquam disputaret. Phidias ibidem eboris scalptor ait sumptu minore marmore incipere diis simulacra fieri; quod aspernati[35] ex ebore Athenienses iusserunt.

ext. 8 *(Par.)* Diomedon unus e decem ducibus quibus Argennusae eadem pugna et victoriam et damnationem peperunt, cum ad immeritum supplicium duceretur, nihil aliud

[33] *del.* A *corr.**
[34] *add. Halm*
[35] aspernati *Christ*: ipse ratum *Nepot.*

---

[46] 490: Herod. 6.97.
[47] Cic. *Nat. deor.* 1.63.
[48] In 399.

Paris. When Persians to the number of a thousand ships were driven onto Delos, they brought religious rather than rapacious hands to the temple of Apollo.[46]

Nepotianus. The Persians filled Delos with a thousand ships and, although its riches could well have tempted victors to plunder, in honour of the god no spoils were taken.

Paris. The Athenians expelled the philosopher Protagoras because he dared to write that he did not know, first, whether gods existed, and second, if they did, what they were like.[47] The same Athenians condemned Socrates because he appeared to be introducing new religion.[48] The same put up with Phidias as long as he said that his Minerva should be made of marble rather than ivory because the lustre would last longer, but when he added "and cheaper," they told him to hold his tongue.[49]

Nepotianus. The philosopher Pythagoras[50] was expelled by the Athenians and his books publicly burned because he had written that he did not know whether the gods existed and that if they existed there was no knowing what they were like. Socrates was condemned in the same city on the ground that he sometimes argued against religious beliefs. There too Phidias, a sculptor in ivory, said that images could be made for the gods at less cost from marble than from ivory. Scouting this, the Athenians ordered him to work in ivory.

Paris. When Diomedon was being led to undeserved execution, one of the ten generals to whom Arginusae in one and the same battle brought both victory and a death sentence, he said only that he hoped the vows he himself

49 Valerius is the only source for this.

50 Error for Protagoras.

locutus est quam ut vota pro incolumitate exercitus ab ipso nuncupata solverentur.

(Nepot.) Apud eosdem Diomedes, unus de decem ducibus, cum post victoriam ad supplicium pergeret, rogavit ut nuncupata vota pro exercitu solverentur.

ext. 9 *(Par.)* Brennus Gallorum dux, Delphis Apollinis templum ingressus, dei voluntate in se manus vertit.

(Nepot.) Brennus rex Gallorum victoriis De<l>phos usque pervenerat, cumque iam humanae vires resistere ei omnino non possent, cultoresque loci ad Apollinem confugissent, respondit deos secum et candidas puellas Gallis pugnaturas. tum nivibus cum omni exercitu Brennus oppressus est.

2. *(Par.)* DE SIMULATA RELIGIONE *(Nepot.)* QUI RELIGIONEM SIMULAVERUNT

1 *(Par.)* Numa Pompilius, ut populum Romanum sacris obligaret, volebat videri sibi cum dea Aegeria congressus esse nocturnos, eiusque monitu se quae acceptissima deis immortalibus sacra fierent instituere.

(Nepot.) Numa Popilius, cum efferatos assiduis bellis Romanos adverteret, docuit eos cultum deorum. atque idem, ut facilius mansuescerent, Egeriam nympham in consuetudine se habere praeceptricem sibi confi<n>xit, quo maior apud feroces esset auctoritas.

---

[51] 406: Diodor. 13.102.2f. In fact six of the ten returned to Athens and were executed.

[52] Error for Diomedon.

[53] 279: Cic. *Div.* 1.81 etc.

had taken for the safety of the army would be discharged.[51]

Nepotianus. Also in Athens Diomedes,[52] one of the ten generals, as he walked to execution after the victory, requested that vows he himself had made for the army be discharged.

Paris. Brennus, leader of the Gauls, on entering the temple of Apollo at Delphi, by the will of the god turned his hands against himself.[53]

Nepotianus. Brennus, king of the Gauls, had come as far as Delphi in his victorious course. When human strength was quite unable to resist him any longer and the inhabitants of the place had fled to Apollo for refuge, he replied that with himself and the white maidens would fight the Gauls. Then Brennus with his entire army was overwhelmed by snows.

2. OF RELIGION FEIGNED (Paris). THOSE WHO FEIGNED RELIGION (Nepotianus)

Paris. Numa Pompilius, wishing to bind the Roman people with rituals, tried to make it appear that he had meetings by night with the goddess Aegeria and that at her prompting he instituted the rituals that would be most acceptable to the immortal gods.

Nepotianus. Numa Popilius, observing that the Romans had been brutalized by continual warfare, taught them divine worship. And that they might the more easily become tamer, he made up a story that he had relations with the nymph Egeria as his counsellor, to give him more authority with his fierce subjects.[1]

[1] Livy 1.19.5 etc.

2 *(Par.)* Scipio Africanus non ante ad negotia privata vel publica ibat quam in cella Iovis Capitolini moratus fuisset, et ideo Iove genitus credebatur.

(Nepot.) Scipio Africanus neque publica neque privata negotia prius umquam attigit quam in cella Iovis Capitolini diutissime moraretur, antequam videretur a quoquam.

3 *(Par.)* L. Sulla, quotiens proelium committere destinabat, parvum Apollinis signum Delphis sublatum in conspectu militum complexus, orabat uti promissa maturaret.

(Nepot.) Sulla proeliaturus simulacrum Apollinis Delphis ablatum suppliciter orabat in conspectu militum ut promissa praestaret, videbaturque inire bellum ‹eo›[36] fretus.

4 *(Nepot.)* Syram mulierem Marius in castris habebat sacricolam ex cuius se auctoritate asserebat omnia aggredi.

5 *(Par.)* Q. Sertorius per asperos Lusitaniae colles cervam albam trahebat, ab ea se quaenam aut agenda aut vitanda essent praedicans admoneri.

(Nepot.) Sertorius in exercitu Hispano albam cervam habuit, quam persuasit barbaris monitricem sibi esse.

ext. 1 *(Par.)* Minos Cretensium rex novo anno in quendam praealtum et vetusta religione consecratum specum secedere solebat, et in eo moratus tamquam ab Iove, quo se ortum ferebat, traditas leges perrogabat.

[36] *add. Gertz*

---

[2] Livy 26.19.5f. etc. [3] Front. *Strat.* 1.11.11, Plut. *Sull.* 29.
[4] Front. *Strat.* 1.11.12, Plut. *Mar.* 17.
[5] Front. *Strat.* 1.11.13 etc., Pliny *N.H.* 8.117 etc.
[6] Cf. [Plat.] *Min.* 319c etc.

Paris. Scipio Africanus used not to go to business, public or private, until he had spent some time in the sanctuary of Capitoline Jupiter and for that reason was believed to be Jupiter's son.[2]

Nepotianus. Scipio Africanus never engaged in public or private affairs until he had spent a long time in the sanctuary of Capitoline Jupiter, before he was seen by anyone.

Paris. Whenever L. Sulla resolved to join battle, he would in sight of his troops embrace a statuette of Apollo taken from Delphi, praying that the god would quickly fulfil his promises.[3]

Nepotianus. When Sulla was about to fight a battle, he would supplicate in front of his troops an image of Apollo taken from Delphi, praying that he make good his promises, and seemed to enter battle in reliance thereon.

Nepotianus. Marius used to keep a Syrian woman in his camp attending to ritual matters and declare that he made his every move on her authority.[4]

Paris. Q. Sertorius used to bring along a white doe through the craggy hills of Lusitania, giving out that she advised him what to do or what not to do.[5]

Nepotianus. Sertorius used to keep a white doe in his Spanish army and persuaded the barbarians that she was his counsellor.

EXTERNAL

Paris. Minos, king of the Cretans, used every ninth year to withdraw to a certain cavern, very deep and hallowed by ancient religion. After spending time therein, he would pass laws as given to him by Jupiter, whose son he claimed to be.[6]

ext. 2 *(Par.)* Pisistratus in recuperanda tyrannide, quam amiserat, simulatione reducentis se in arcem Minervae est usus, cum per ostentationem ignotae mulieris, quae Phye vocabatur, formatae ad habitum deae Athenienses deciperet.

ext. 3 *(Par.)* Lycurgus consilio Apollinis gravissimae civitati Lacedaemoniorum leges compositas ferre se persuasit.

ext. 4 *(Par.)* Zaleucus sub nomine Minervae apud Locrenses prudentissimus habitus est.

3. *(Nepot.)* DE SUPERSTITIONIBUS

1 *(Par.)* Bacchanalium sacrorum mos novus institutus, cum ad perniciosam vaesaniam iret, sublatus est.

(Nepot.) Bachanalia[37] mysteria fuere Romae. sed cum temporibus nocturnis viri ac feminae pariter essent furerentque, multo colentium sanguine [se et] peregrina sacra abolita sunt.

2 *(Par.)* Lutatius Cerco, qui primum Punicum bellum confecit, a senatu prohibitus est sortes Fortunae Praenestinae adire: auspiciis enim patriis, non alienigenis rem publicam administrari iudicabant oportere.

(Nepot.) Lutatium Cerconem, confectorem primi Punici belli, fama extitit velle ad Praenestinam Fortunam sortes † mittere sive colligere. hoc cognito senatus inhibuit

[37] Bacchanalia *coni. Briscoe*: -ius *Nepot.*: -ium *Mai*

---

[7] Herod. 1.60 etc. [8] Herod. 1.65 etc.

[9] Cf. Aristot. fr. 548 Rose, Plut. *Numa* 4 etc.

[1] 186: Cic. *Leg.* 2.37, Livy 39.8–18 etc.

[2] Confusion between Q. Lutatius Cerco, Consul in 241, and

Paris. Pisistratus in recovering his lost despotism used the pretence that Minerva was bringing him back to the citadel, showing an unknown woman named Phye made up to look like the goddess and thus deceiving the Athenians.[7]

Paris. Lycurgus made the grave community of the Lacedaemonians believe that he was passing on the laws he had composed by the advice of Apollo.[8]

Paris. Zaleucus was accounted wisest of men among the Locrians acting in the name of Minerva.[9]

3. OF SUPERSTITIONS

Paris. The rites of the Bacchanalia, a practice newly introduced, were abolished when they passed into pernicious madness.[1]

Nepotianus. There were mysteries of the Bacchanals at Rome. But when at nighttime men and women were together and became mad, the foreign rites were abolished with much slaughter of the participants.

Paris. Lutatius Cerco, who ended the First Punic War,[2] was forbidden by the senate to consult the lots of Praenestine Fortune. For they judged that public business should be conducted under national auspices, not foreign ones.

Nepotianus. It was rumoured that Lutatius Cerco, who ended the First Punic War, intended to send to Praenestine Fortune or collect lots (?). When the senate

his better known brother, C. Lutatius Catulus, Consul in 242, who won the battle of the Aegates islands, thus effectively ending the First Punic War.

extraria responsa †[38] consultorum disquiri. iussum legatis est aedilibusque in haec missis ut si consuluisset, ad supplicium Romam reduceretur. denique adeo profuit factum ut ex incertis ei Romana auspicia fuerint: nam ab altaribus patr<i>s profectus Egadas opulentissimas insulas in conspectu Carthaginis populatus est.

3 *(Par.)* Cn. Cornelius Hispalus praetor peregrinus M. Popillio Laenate L. Calpurnio coss. edicto Chaldaeos citra[39] decimum diem abire ex urbe atque Italia iussit, levibus et ineptis ingeniis fallaci siderum interpretatione quaestuosam mendaciis suis caliginem inicientes. idem Iudaeos, qui Sabazii Iovis cultu Romanos inficere mores conati erant, repetere domos suas coegit.

(Nepot.) Chaldaeos igitur Cornelius Hispalus urbe expulit et intra decem dies Italia abire iussit, ne peregrinam scientiam venditarent. Iudaeos quoque, qui Romanis tradere sacra sua conati erant, idem Hispalus urbe exterminavit arasque privatas e publicis locis abiecit.

4 *(Par.)* L. Aemilius Paullus consul, cum senatus Isidis et Serapis fana diruenda censuisset, eaque nemo opificum attingere auderet, posita praetexta securem arripuit templique eius foribus inflixit.

[38] Br

[39] citra *Lachmann*: circa P

---

3 Surely of the Carthaginian fleet in the original.

4 I.e. Cn. Calpurnius Piso. The year was 139 and the Praetor Cn. Cornelius Scipio Hispanus, apparently confused with his father, Cn. Cornelius Scipio Hispal(l)us, Consul in 176. Cf. VM 6.3.3b.

learned of it, they forbade enquiry into outside responses by consulting persons (?). Orders were given to Legates and Aediles sent for the purpose that if he consulted he be brought back to Rome for punishment. In fine, the action had the beneficial result that his auspices, from being uncertain, became Roman. For setting forth from his country's altars, he ravaged the very wealthy Aegates islands in full view of Carthage.[3]

Paris. Cn. Cornelius Hispalus, Foreign Praetor, in the Consulship of M. Popillius Laenas and L. Calpurnius,[4] ordered the astrologers by edict to leave Rome and Italy within ten days. For they spread profitable darkness with their lies over frivolous and foolish minds by fallacious interpretation of the stars. The same Hispalus made the Jews go home, who had tried to infect Roman manners with the cult of Jupiter Sabazius.

Nepotianus. Therefore Cornelius Hispalus expelled the astrologers from the city, ordering them to leave Italy within ten days, lest they tout foreign knowledge. The same Hispalus banished the Jews too from the city (they had tried to pass on their religion to the Romans) and threw out their private altars from public places.

Paris. When the senate decreed that the temples of Isis and Serapis be demolished and none of the workmen dared touch them, Consul L. Aemilius Paullus[5] took off his official gown, seized an axe, and dashed it against the doors of that temple.

[5] Consul in 50 (not his namesake the victor of Pydna in 168). Actions against the cults in the fifties and later are on record (*RE* IX.2103.40).

4. *(Par.)* DE AUSPICIO

praef. *(Nepot.)* Urbem Romam [auspiciorum][40] auspiciis conditam certum est. itaque Remus prior sex vultures auspicatus, postea Romulus duodecim. potior Remo[41] fuit quod Remus prioribus auspiciis niteretur, Romulus pluribus.

1 *(Par.)* L. Tarquinius rex, centuriis equitum quas Romulus auspicato conscripserat alias adicere cupiens, cum ab Atto Navio augure prohiberetur, offensus interrogavit an id fieri posset[42] quod animo cogitaret. eo augurio capto posse fieri dicente iussit novacula cotem discindi. qua Attus allata, administrato incredibili facto, effectum suae professionis[43] oculis regiis subiecit.

(Nepot.) L. Tarquinius rex cum centuriis a Romulo constitutis alias adicere disponeret, Attus Navius augur dixit prius deos consuli oportere. rex iussit ‹s›citari[44] an quod[45] in animo haberet fieri posset. post consultatione‹m› posse respondit. 'novacula' inquit 'cotem ‹te›[46] scindere volo.' nil cunctatus[47] augur scidit. exin magna fides et auctoritas Romae augurum mansit. Navio cum cote et novacula constituta est statua.

2 *(Par.)* Ti. Gracchus, cum ad res novas moliendas pararetur, auspicia domi prima luce petiit, quae illi perquam tristia responderunt; et ianua egressus ita pedem offendit

[40] *del. Mai* [41] Remo *Mai*: Remulo *Nepot.*
[42] posset *Kempf*: -sit P [43] professionis ς: perfectio- P
[44] *add. Gertz* [45] an *Halm*: con (quod) *Nepot.*
[46] *add. Kempf* [47] cunctatus *Kempf*: concia- *Nepot.*

---

[1] Ennius in Cic. *Div.* 1.107f., Livy 1.7.1f. etc.

4. OF AUGURY

Nepotianus. It is certain that the City of Rome was founded with auspices. So Remus first auspicated six vultures, then Romulus twelve. He was better than Remus, because while Remus relied on earlier auspices, Romulus had more.[1]

Paris. When king L. Tarquinius wished to add other centuries of knights to those which Romulus had enrolled after taking auspices, he was forbidden by the Augur Attus Navius. In his annoyance he asked whether what he had in his mind could be done. Attus took augury and told him that it could be done. Tarquinius ordered a whetstone to be cut with a razor. One was brought and Attus achieved the incredible, putting fulfilment of his profession under the king's eyes.[2]

Nepotianus. When king L. Tarquinius was planning to add other centuries to those constituted by Romulus, the Augur Attus Navius said that the gods ought to be consulted first. The king ordered that the question be asked whether what he had in mind could be done. After consultation Attus replied that it could. "I want you to cut a whetstone with a razor," said Tarquinius. Without hesitation the Augur cut it. From then on Augurs enjoyed great trust and authority in Rome. A statue was set up to Navius with a whetstone and razor.

Paris. When preparations for revolution were under way, Ti. Gracchus sought auspices in his home at dawn, which gave him very unfavourable answers. And in going out of the door, he stubbed his foot so badly that one of his

[2] Cic. *Div.* 1.32, Livy 1.36 etc.

ut digitus ei decuteretur. tres deinde corvi, in eum adversum occinentes, partem tegulae decussam ante ipsum propulerunt. quibus om<i>nibus[48] contemptis, a Scipione Nasica pont. max. decussus Capitolio, fragmento subsellii ictus procubuit.

(Nepot.) Ti. Gracchus tribunatum adepturus pullarium domi consuluit, ab eoque ire in campum prohibitus est. sed cum pertinaciter pergeret, sic illisit mox extra ianuam pedem ut eius excideretur articulus. deinde tres corvi prodeunti ei cum vocibus adversis involaverunt et compugnantes tegulam ante pedes eius deiecerunt. cumque in Capitolio consuleret, similia auspicia habuit. male igitur tribunatu gesto, occisus est a Scipione Nasica: primo ictus fragmento subsellii, postea clava, expiravit. corpus eius, cum his qui pariter occisi erant, Lucretius aedilis plebi inhumatum <in>[49] Tiberim abici iussit.

3 *(Par.)* P. Claudius bello Punico primo, cum proelium navale committere vellet, auspiciaque more maiorum petisset, et pullarius non exire cavea pullos nuntiasset, abici eos in mare iussit, dicens 'quia esse nolunt, bibant.'

(Nepot.) P. Claudius, praeceps animi, primo bello Punico pullarium consuluit. qui cum dixisset non vesci pullos, quod malum omen est, 'bibant' inquit et in mare proici iussit. mox classem apud Egadas[50] insulas cum multo rei pub. damno et suo exitio amisit.

4 *(Par.)* L. Iunius, P. Claudii collega, neglectis auspiciis

[48] *add. Rinkes* [49] *add. Mai*
[50] Aegates *Kempf*: *et hic et 1.3.2*

---

[3] 133: Plut. *Ti. Gracch.* 17, Obsequens 27a etc.
[4] 249: Cic. *Nat. deor.* 2.7 etc.

toes was put out of joint. Then three ravens cawed against him and dislodged part of a roof tile, shaking it down in front of him. Despising these omens, he was forced off the Capitol by the Chief Pontiff Scipio Nasica and fell on his face, struck by a fragment from a bench.[3]

Nepotianus. When Ti. Gracchus was about to get the Tribunate, he consulted a chicken-keeper at home and was forbidden by him to go to the Campus. But when he obstinately persisted, he presently stubbed his foot outside the door so that a joint was put out. Then three ravens flew at him with hostile cries as he went on, and as they fought each other cast down a tile at his feet. And when he consulted in the Capitol, he had similar auspices. So after a bad career as Tribune, he was killed by Scipio Nasica. He died, struck first by a fragment from a bench, then by a club. The Plebeian Aedile Lucretius ordered his body along with those killed with him to be thrown unburied into the Tiber.

Paris. In the First Punic War P. Claudius, wanting to join battle at sea, sought the auspices in the traditional fashion. When the keeper of the chickens reported that the chickens did not leave their coop, he ordered them flung into the sea, saying, "Since they won't eat, let them drink."[4]

Nepotianus. P. Claudius, a man of impulse, consulted a chicken-keeper in the First Punic War. On his reporting that the chickens were not eating, which is a bad omen, Claudius said, "Let them drink," and ordered them thrown into the sea. Soon afterwards he lost his fleet off the Aegates islands with great damage to the commonwealth and his own destruction.

Paris. L. Junius, P. Claudius' colleague, having ne-

classem tempestate amisit, damnationisque ignominiam voluntaria morte praevenit.

5 *(Par.)* Cum Metellus p.m. Tusculanum petens iret, corvi duo in os eius adversum, veluti iter impedientes, advolaverunt, vixque extuderunt ut domum rediret. insequenti nocte aedis Vestae arsit. quo incendio Metellus inter ipsos ignis raptum Palladium incolume servavit.

(Nepot.) Metello pontifici maximo proficiscenti in agrum Tusculanum corvi duo evidenter obstiterunt, sed neglecto augurio ire contendit. inter se aves unguibus laniare coeperunt et rostris dare ictus. mirans Metellus Roma<m> rediit. sequenti nocte ex incendio Palladium rapuit.

6 *(Par.)* M. Ciceroni mors imminens auspicio praedicta est: cum enim in villa Caietana esset, corvus in conspectu eius horologii ferrum loco motum excussit, et protinus ad ipsum tetendit, ac laciniam togae eo usque morsu tenuit donec servus milites ad eum occidendum venisse nuntiaret.

(Nepot.) M. Tullius or.[51] cum in agro Caietano[52] proscriptus lateret insectante Antonio, corvus virgulam ferream, qua distinguebantur horae, sic conscidit[53] rostro ut eam excuteret, togamque Tullii apprehendit et traxit. sub momento ad eum percussores irruerunt.

7 *(Par.)* M. Brutus cum reliquias exercitus sui adversus

[51] or. (*i.e.* orator *Watt*[1]): n̄r̄ (*i.e.* noster) *Nepot.*

[52] Caietano *Mai*: Sale- *Nepot.*

[53] sic conscidit *Halm*: sic te sc- *Nepot.*

---

[5] Ibid. His suicide is mentioned there and in *Div.* 2.71 but see Münzer in *RE*.X.1081.

glected auspices and lost his fleet in a storm, forestalled the ignominy of a conviction by a voluntary death.[5]

Paris. Chief Pontiff Metellus was on his way to the Tusculum district when two ravens flew in his face as though to stop his progress and finally forced him to go back home. The following night the temple of Vesta caught fire. In the conflagration Metellus seized the Palladium in the midst of the flames and saved it intact.[6]

Nepotianus. As Chief Pontiff Metellus was on his way to the district of Tusculum, two ravens manifestly came in his way. However, he took no notice of the augury and kept going. The birds started to tear at each other with their claws and peck with their beaks. Wondering, Metellus returned to Rome. The following night he snatched the Palladium from a fire.

Paris. Imminent death was foretold to M. Cicero by auspice. He was in his villa at Caieta when a raven dislodged the iron pin from a sundial before his eyes and shook it off, then made right for him and bit the fringe of his gown, holding on till a slave announced that soldiers had come to kill him.[7]

Nepotianus. When M. Tullius the orator was proscribed and hiding in the district of Caieta with Antony chasing him, a raven cut up with his beak a small iron rod which served to mark the hours, shaking it loose, and caught Tullius' gown and tugged it. At that moment the assassins rushed in to attack him.

Paris. When M. Brutus led out the remnants of his

6 241: Livy *Per.* 19, Dion. Hal. 2.66 etc.

7 43: Plut. *Cic.* 47 (without the sundial); cf. App. *B.C.* 4.19, Auct. vir. ill. 1.81.

Caesarem et Antonium eduxisset, duae aquilae ex diversis castris advolaverunt, et, edita inter se pugna, ea quae a parte Bruti fuerat, male mulcata fugit.

(Nepot.) M. Brutus, collega Cassii, de exitu belli est civilis admonitus. nam duae aquilae, advolantes super eum campum in quo pug<n>avit ex diversis castris convenere <et>[54] inter se conflixerunt. victrix profecta ad Caesarem est Augustum, fugata[55] illa quae ex Bruti advolaverat[56] parte.

ext. 1 *(Par.)* Cum rex Alexander urbem in Aegypto constituere vellet, architectus Dinocrates cum cretam non haberet polentaque futurae urbis liniamenta deduxisset, ingens avium multitudo pr<ox>imo[57] lacu emersa polentam depasta est; quod sacerdotes Aegyptiorum interpretati sunt convenarum frequentiae alimentis suffecturam urbem.

ext. 2 Deiotaro vero regi omnia fere auspicato gerenti salutaris aquilae conspectus fuit, qua visa abstinuit se ab eius tecti usu quod nocte insequenti ruina solo aequatum est.

5. DE OMINIBUS

praef. Ominum etiam observatio aliquo contactu religioni innexa est, quoniam non fortuito motu, sed divina providentia constare creduntur.[58]

[54] convenere et *Kempf*: -venire *Nepot.*
[55] fugata *Gertz*: fugiat *Nepot.*
[56] advolaverat *Du Rieu*: adiluxerat *Nepot.*
[57] *add. Pighius* [58] creduntur *Kempf*: -ditur AL

army against Caesar and Antony, two eagles flew up from the two camps and put on a fight. The eagle from Brutus' side was badly worsted and fled.[8]

Nepotianus. M. Brutus, colleague of Cassius, was warned about the outcome of the civil war. For two eagles flying above the field on which he fought came together from the two camps and clashed with each other. The winner went off to Caesar Augustus, whereas the one which had flown up from Brutus' side was put to flight.

EXTERNAL

Paris. When king Alexander wanted to build a city in Egypt, his architect Dinocrates, having no chalk handy, marked out the outline of the future city with barley groats; on which a vast number of birds emerged from the lake nearby and devoured the groats. This was interpreted by the Egyptian priests as signifying that the city would have enough food for a great influx of population.[9]

But to king Deiotarus, who took auspices before practically everything he did, the appearance of an eagle was a lifesaver. Having seen it, he forwent the use of a building which on the following night was levelled with the ground in ruins.[10]

5. OF OMENS

Also the observation of omens is involved with religion by some kind of contact, since they are believed to be based not on casual motion but on divine providence.

[8] 42: Plut. *Brut.* 48, App. *B.C.* 4.128.
[9] 332: Plut. *Alex.* 2.26 etc. [10] Cic. *Div.* 1.26, 2.20

1 Quae effecit ut urbe a Gallis disiecta, deliberantibus patribus conscriptis utrum Veios migrarent an sua moenia restituerent, forte eo tempore <e>[59] praesidio cohortibus redeuntibus centurio in comitio exclamaret 'signifer, statue signum, hic optime manebimus': ea enim voce audita senatus accipere se omen respondit, e vestigioque Veios transeundi consilium omisit. quam paucis verbis de domicilio futuri summi imperii confirmata est condicio, credo indignum dis existimantibus prosperrimis auspiciis Romanum nomen ortum Veientanae urbis appellatione mutari, inclitaeque victoriae decus modo abiectae urbis ruinis infundi!

2 Huius tam praeclari operis auctor Camillus, cum esset precatus ut, si cui deorum nimia felicitas populi Romani videretur, eius invidia suo aliquo incommodo satiaretur, subito lapsu decidit. quod omen ad damnationem quà postea oppressus est pertinuisse visum est. merito autem de laude inter se victoria et pia precatio amplissimi viri certaverint: aequae enim virtutis est et bona patriae auxisse et mala in se transferre voluisse.

3 Quid illud quod L. Paullo consuli evenit, quam memorabile! cum ei sorte evenisset ut bellum cum rege Perse gereret, et domum e curia regressus filiolam suam nomine Tertiam, quae tum erat admodum parvula, osculatus tris-

[59] *add.* A *corr.*

---

[1] 390: Livy 5.55.1f.

[2] There were no cohorts in 390.

[3] Livy 5.21.14–16 etc.

[4] Consul for the second time in 168, defeated king Perseus at Pydna. For the anecdote cf. Cic. *Div.* 1.103 etc.

Providence brought it about that when the city had been broken up by the Gauls and the Conscript Fathers were deliberating whether to migrate to Veii or restore their own buildings,[1] at that time some cohorts[2] chanced to be returning from their station and a Centurion called out in the place of assembly, "Standard-bearer, fix standard. We best stay here." Hearing that utterance, the senate answered that they accepted the omen and immediately gave up the idea of moving to Veii. By how few words was the choice of domicile for the mighty empire of the future confirmed! The gods, I believe, thought it not meet that the name of Rome, arisen under the fairest of auspices, should be exchanged for the appellation of the Veientane city and the glory of a famous victory discharged upon the ruins of a city lately overthrown.

The author of that fine achievement, Camillus, had prayed that if the Roman people's good fortune seemed to any of the gods excessive, the jealousy be satisfied by some mishap to himself; after which he suddenly slipped and fell. The omen was thought to have borne upon the condemnation by which Camillus was later overwhelmed.[3] But deservedly might the victory and the pious prayer of the great man vie with each other in glory. For it is equally noble to have added to the felicities of one's country and to have wished to transfer her adversities to oneself.

What of that which befell Consul L. Paullus,[4] how memorable! It had fallen to him by lot to conduct the war against king Perses. Returning home from the senate house, he noticed that his little daughter called Tertia, a very small child at the time, seemed sad when he gave her

tem animadverteret, interrogavit quid ita eo vultu esset. quae respondit Persam perisse. decesserat autem catellus, quem puella in deliciis habuerat, nomine Persa. arripuit igitur omen Paullus exque fortuito dicto quasi certam spem clarissimi triumphi animo praesumpsit.

4 At Caecilia Metelli, dum sororis filiae, adultae aetatis virgini, more prisco nocte concubia nuptiale petit omen, ipsa fecit: nam cum in sacello quodam eius rei gratia aliquamdiu persedisset nec [aliqua][60] ulla vox proposito congruens esset audita, fessa longa standi mora puella rogavit materteram ut sibi paulisper locum residendi accommodaret. cui illa 'ego vero' inquit 'libenter tibi mea sede cedo.' quod dictum ab indulgentia profectum ad certi ominis processit eventum, quoniam Metellus non ita multo post mortua Caecilia virginem de qua loquor in matrimonium duxit.

5 C. autem Mario observatio ominis procul dubio saluti fuit, quo tempore hostis a senatu iudicatus in domum Fanniae Minturnis custodiae causa deductus est. animadvertit enim asellum, cum ei pabulum obiceretur, neglecto eo ad aquam procurrentem. quo spectaculo deorum providentia quod sequeretur oblatum ratus, alioquin etiam interpretandarum religionum peritissimus, a multitudine, quae ad opem illi ferendam confluxerat, impetravit ut ad mare perduceretur, ac protinus naviculam conscen-

[60] *del. Torr.*

---

[5] "Un petit chat" according to Combès, who suggests that the animal had been brought from the East by a diplomat and presented to Paullus, cats in Rome being unattested at this period.

a kiss. To his question, why she looked like that, she answered that "Persa had perished." Now a puppy[5] called Persa, the child's favourite, had died. So Paullus seized upon the omen and from a chance saying conceived a pretty sure hope of a splendid triumph.

Caecilia, wife of Metellus,[6] sought an omen of wedlock for her sister's child, a grown-up girl, at dead of night, in the ancient fashion; but she made it herself. She had sat for the purpose for some time in a certain shrine and heard no word that fitted her intent, when the girl, weary with standing so long, asked her aunt to give her a place to sit down for a little while. The other said, "Yes indeed. I gladly give you my seat." This saying came of kindness, but turned out in the event a sure omen. For not long after Caecilia died and Metellus married the girl of whom I speak.

The observation of an omen without doubt saved C. Marius when he was proclaimed a public enemy by the senate and brought for custody to the house of Fannia in Minturnae. For he noticed a donkey neglecting food when it was offered him and running to water. By that spectacle he thought divine providence had set before him the course he should take, being in general very skilled in the interpretation of religious phenomena. So he asked and obtained from the crowd that had gathered to help him that he be conducted to the sea. And forthwith he went on

But *catellus*, diminutive of *catulus*, is normally a dog and has no connection with the late Latin *cattus*.

[6] Probably herself a Metella. Her husband cannot be identified. Valerius takes the story from Cic. *Div.* 1.104, 2.83, where it is said to come from an older contemporary.

dit, eaque in Africam pervectus arma Sullae victricia effugit.

6 Pompeius vero Magnus in acie Pharsalica victus a Caesare, fuga quaerens salutem cursu in insulam Cyprum, ut aliquid in eam virium contraheret, classem direxit, appellensque ad oppidum Paphum conspexit in litore speciosum aedificium gubernatoremque interrogavit quod ei nomen esset. qui respondit Κατωβασίλεια vocari. quae vox spem eius [quae] quantulacumque[61] restabat comminuit, neque id dissimulanter tulit: avertit enim oculos ab illis tectis ac dolorem quem ex diro omine ceperat gemitu patefecit.

7 M. etiam Bruti dignus admisso parricidio eventus omine designatus est, si quidem post illud nefarium opus natalem suum celebrans, cum Graecum versum expromere vellet, ad illud potissimum Homericum referendum animo tetendit:

ἀλλά με Μοῖρ' ὀλοὴ καὶ Λητοῦς ἔκτανεν υἱός.

qui deus, Philippensi acie a Caesare et Antonio signo datus, in eum tela convertit.

8 Consentaneo vocis iactu C. Cassii aurem Fortuna pervellit, quem orantibus Rhodiis ne ab eo cunctis deorum simulacris spoliarentur Solem a se relinqui respondere voluit, ut rapacissimi victoris insolentiam dicti tumore pro-

[61] quantulacumque ς: quae quantulumc-* AL

---

7 88: cf. Plut. *Mar.* 38 and VM 8.2.3.

8 48: now usually called the battle of Pharsalus, "an error both gross and gratuitous" (J. P. Postgate, *Lucan VIII*, 1917, xcviii). The story does not seem to be found elsewhere.

board a small ship and was conveyed therein to Africa, thus escaping Sulla's victorious arms.[7]

When Pompey the Great was defeated by Caesar at the battle of Pharsalia,[8] he sought safety in flight and directed his fleet to the island of Cyprus in the hope of gathering some force there. Putting in at the town of Paphos, he observed a handsome edifice on shore and asked the skipper its name. The same replied that it was called Catobasileia (Palace Below). His words shattered what little hope Pompey had left, nor did he try to conceal it. He turned away from the structure and with a groan made plain the distress the baleful omen had caused him.

An outcome worthy of the parricide[9] committed by M. Brutus was designated by an omen. As he was celebrating his birthday[10] after that evil work, he wanted to speak a line of Greek and his mind turned to recall this of Homer: "But baneful Fate and Leto's son have slain me."[11] That god, given as a password by Caesar and Antony at the battle of Philippi, turned his darts against Brutus.

By a similar utterance Fortune pinched the ear of C. Cassius. When the Rhodians begged him not to despoil them of all their statues of the gods, she made him reply that he was leaving the Sun, compounding the insolence of a rapacious conqueror by the arrogance of the speech. Cast

9 So elsewhere, Caesar being *pater patriae*. Similarly of the plotter against Tiberius in VM 9.11.ext.4.

10 At Carystus in Euboea in 44/43 according to Plut. *Brut.* 24, who also says that the watchword Apollo was given to his troops by Brutus. Cf. App. *B.C.* 4.134.

11 Hom. *Il.* 16.849, spoken by Patroclus.

traheret, abiectumque Macedonica pugna non effigiem Solis, quam tantummodo supplicibus cesserat, sed ipsum solem re vera relinquere cogeret.

9 Adnotatu dignum illud quoque omen, sub quo Petillius consul in Liguria bellum gerens occiderit: nam cum montem, cui Leto cognomen erat, oppugnaret interque adhortationem militum dixisset 'hodie ego Letum utique capiam,' inconsideratius proeliando fortuitum iactum vocis leto suo confirmavit.

ext. 1 Adici nostris duo eiusdem generis alienigena exempla non absurde possunt. Samii Prienensibus, auxilium adversus Caras implorantibus, arrogantia instincti pro classe et exercitu Sibyllam eis derisus gratia miserunt. quam illi, velut divinitus datum praesidium interpretati, libenter receptam vera fatorum praedictione victoriae ducem habuerunt.

ext. 2 Ne Apolloniatae quidem paenitentiam egerunt, quod cum bello Illyrico pressi Epidamnios ut sibi opem ferrent orassent, atque illi flumen vicinum moenibus suis nomine Aeanta in adiutorium eorum sese mittere dixissent, 'accipimus quod datur' responderunt, eique primum in acie locum perinde ac duci adsignarunt: ex insperato enim superatis hostibus, successum suum omini acceptum

---

[12] 42: Dio 47.33.4, according to whom Cassius left the Rhodians only the chariot of the Sun. Orosius, 6.18.13, says he left them nothing but their lives. But was this not a joke? The most famous statue of the Sun (colossus) lay in ruins, overturned by an earthquake.

[13] *Cognomen* is used of a name given for a reason—as that people had died on the mountain; see OLD cognomen 3.

down by the battle in Macedonia, she obliged him to leave, not the effigy of the Sun, which was all he had granted to the suppliants, but the sun itself in very deed.[12]

Worthy also of note is the omen after which Consul Petillius lost his life campaigning in Liguria. He was besieging a mountain named Letum (death)[13] and in an exhortation to his troops he said: "Today I shall take Letum without fail." Then, fighting recklessly, he confirmed the chance utterance by his own death (*letum*).[14]

EXTERNAL

It will not be out of place to add to our Roman examples two alien ones of the same kind. The Samians, being asked for aid against the Carians by the men of Priene, prompted by arrogance, instead of a fleet and an army sent them a Sibyl,[15] in mockery. But they took her as an aid divinely granted and received her gladly. Then by her true prediction of the fates they had her as their leader in victory.

Nor yet were the men of Apollonia[16] sorry. Hard pressed in war with the Illyrians, they begged the Epidamnians to come to their aid. These said that they were sending a river near their walls called Aeas[17] to Apollonia's assistance. "We accept what is given," answered the Apolloniates, and assigned Aeas as though their general first place in the line. Contrary to expectation the enemy were defeated. Attributing their success to the omen, they

[14] 176: Livy 41.18.9–14. Cf. VM 2.7.15d.

[15] The Samian Sibyl is placed sixth in Varro's series ap. Lactant. *Inst.* 1.6.9. Cf. Tac. *Ann.* 6.12.4.

[16] In Epirus. The story is not found elsewhere.

[17] Or Aous. The name recalls the Homeric hero Αἴας, Ajax. Presumably an effigy of the river was sent.

referentes, et tunc Aeanti ut deo immolaverunt et deinceps omnibus proeliis duce uti instituerunt.

6. DE PRODIGIIS

praef. Prodigiorum quoque, quae aut secunda aut adversa acciderunt, debita proposito nostro relatio est.

1 Servio Tullio etiam tum puerulo dormienti circa caput flammam emicuisse domesticorum oculi adnotaverunt. quod prodigium Anci regis Marcii uxor Tanaquil admirata serva natum in modum filii educavit et ad regium fastigium evexit.

2 Aeque felicis eventus illa flamma, quae ex L. Marcii, ducis duorum exercituum quos interitus P. et Cn.[62] Scipionum in Hispania debilitaverat, capite contionantis eluxit: namque eius aspectu pavidi adhuc milites pristinam recuperare fortitudinem admoniti, septem[63] et triginta milibus hostium caesis magnoque numero in potestatem redacto, bina castra Punicis opibus referta ceperunt.

3 Item, cum bello acri et diutino Veientes a Romanis intra moenia compulsi capi non possent, eaque mora non minus obsidentibus quam obsessis intolerabilis videretur, exoptatae victoriae iter miro prodigio di immortales patefecerunt: subito enim Albanus lacus, neque caelestibus auctus imbribus neque inundatione ullius amnis adiutus, solitum stagni modum excessit. cuius rei explorandae gratia legati ad Delphicum oraculum missi rettulerunt praeci-

[62] Publi et Gnaei *edd.*
[63] septem *Nepot.* (*sic Livius*): octo AL

---

[1] Livy 1.39, Dion. Hal. 4.2 etc. Ancus Marcius is probably

made sacrifice then to Aeas as a god and from that time forward regularly made him their general in all their battles.

6. OF PRODIGIES

My undertaking also requires the relation of prodigies, whether favourable or adverse.

Household eyes noticed that a flame flashed around the head of Servius Tullius, still a little boy, as he slept. King Ancus Marcius' wife Tanaquil wondered at the prodigy and brought him up like a son, though his mother was a slave, and raised him to royal eminence.[1]

Of no less happy event was the flame that shone from the head of L. Marcius, commander of the two armies which the deaths of P. and Cn. Scipio in Spain had enfeebled, as he was making a speech. At sight of it the soldiers, still cowed, were admonished to recover their former valour; and after slaying thirty-seven thousand of the enemy and taking a great number prisoner, they captured two camps full of Punic riches.[2]

Likewise when the men of Veii had been forced inside their town by the Romans in a fierce and protracted war but could not be taken, and the delay seemed intolerable no less to the besiegers than to the besieged, the immortal gods opened a path to longed-for victory by a marvellous prodigy. For of a sudden the Alban Lake rose above its normal stagnant level, neither augmented by rains from the sky nor aided by the inundations of any river. Envoys sent to the Delphic oracle to enquire into the matter reported

Valerius' error for Tarquinius Priscus. A glossator was not likely to change the right name. [2] 211: Livy 25.39.16.

pi sortibus ut aquam eius lacus emissam per agros diffunderent: sic enim Veios <venturos>[64] in potestatem populi Romani. quod priusquam legati renuntiarent, haruspex Veientium a milite nostro, quia domestici interpretes deerant, raptus et in castra perlatus futurum dixerat. ergo senatus duplici praedictione monitus eodem paene tempore et religioni paruit et hostium urbe potitus est.

4 Nec parum prosperi successus quod sequitur. L. Sulla consul sociali bello, cum in agro Nolano ante praetorium immolaret, subito ab ima parte arae prolapsam anguem prospexit. qua visa Postumii haruspicis hortatu continuo exercitum in expeditionem eduxit ac fortissima Samnitium castra cepit. quae victoria futurae eius amplissimae potentiae gradus et fundamentum exstitit.

5 Praecipuae admirationis etiam illa prodigia, quae C.[65] Volumnio Ser. Sulpicio consulibus in urbe nostra inter initia motusque bellorum acciderunt: bos namque mugitu suo in sermonem humanum converso novitate monstri audientium animos exterruit. carnis quoque in modum nimbi dissipatae partes ceciderunt, quarum maiorem numerum praepetes diripuerunt aves, reliquum humi per aliquot dies neque odore taetro neque deformi aspectu mutatum iacuit.

[64] *add. Foertsch* Veios ... Romano *intra cruces Briscoe*
[65] L. *Nepot.*

---

3 Veii was taken in 396. The prodigy is in Cic. *Div.* 1.100, Livy 5.15 etc.

4 89: Cic. *Div.* 1.72, 2.65 etc. Sulla was not Consul at the time but commanding an army in replacement of the Consul L. Porcius Cato, who had died. He became Consul in 88.

the oracular instruction, according to which the Romans were to spread the water let out by the lake over the countryside; for so would Veii come under the power of the Roman people. Before the envoys brought back their report, a Veientian soothsayer, who had been seized by one of our soldiers because Roman interpreters were lacking and brought to the camp, had foretold how it would be. So the senate, admonished by the double prediction, almost simultaneously obeyed religion and gained possession of the enemy city.[3]

Nor the did the following fail of a prosperous outcome. Consul L. Sulla was performing a sacrifice in front of his headquarters in the territory of Nola during the Social War when he saw a snake suddenly glide forward from the lowest part of the altar. After sight of it and at the urging of the diviner Postumius, he immediately led out his army for a foray and captured the strongly held Samnite camp. That victory was a step and basis for his future enormous power.[4]

Especially remarkable too were those prodigies that occurred in our city in the Consulship of C. Volumnius and Ser. Sulpicius[5] in the first stirrings of wars. An ox changed his lowing into human speech, terrifying hearers with the novelty of the monstrous thing. Portions of flesh fell scattered like a rain shower. Most of them were torn to shreds by birds flying straight ahead (?); the rest lay on the ground for several days unchanged, neither evil-smelling nor hideous to look upon.

[5] 461: Livy 3.10.5f., Dion. Hal. 10.2.3f. etc. Volumnius' praenomen should be Publius.

Eiusdem generis monstra alio tumultu credita sunt: puerum infantem semenstrem in foro Boario triumphum ‹clamasse›,[66] alium cum elephantino capite natum, in Piceno lapidibus pluisse, in Gallia lupum vigili e vagina gladium abstulisse, in Sicilia[67] scuta duo sanguinem sudasse, Antii[68] metentibus cruentas spicas in corbem decidisse, Caerites aquas sanguine mixtas fluxisse. bello etiam Punico secundo constitit Cn. Domitii bovem dixisse 'cave tibi, Roma.'

6 C. autem Flaminius inauspicato consul creatus cum apud lacum Trasumennum cum Hannibale conflicturus convelli signa iussisset, lapso equo super caput eius humi prostratus est, nihilque eo prodigio inhibitus, signiferis negantibus signa moveri sua sede posse, malum, ni ea continuo effodissent, minatus est. verum huius temeritatis utinam sua tantum, non etiam populi Romani, maxima clade poenas pependisset! in ea namque acie quindecim milia Romanorum caesa, sex milia capta, decem[69] milia fugata sunt. consulis obtruncati corpus ad funerandum ab Hannibale quaesitum, qui, quantum in ipso fuerat, Romanum sepelierat imperium.

7 Flaminii autem praecipitem audaciam C. Hostilius Mancinus vesana perseverantia subsequitur. cui consuli

[66] *add. Kempf* [67] Sardinia *Nepot.* (*sic Livius*)
[68] Antii *Halm*: etiam AL: apud Antium *Nepot.* (*sic Oros.*)
[69] x *Nepot.* (*cf. Livius*): xx AL

---

6 Before the Roman defeats at Trasimene in 217 and Cannae in 216. Cf. Livy 21.62.2–5, 22.1.8–10 etc. Domitius' talking ox, however, is dated to 192 in the Consulship of Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus by Livy 35.21.4.

Portents of the same sort were believed during another crisis,[6] namely that a six-months old infant had shouted triumph in the Forum Boarium,[7] that another was born with the head of an elephant, that it rained stones in Picenum, that in Gaul a wolf took a sentry's sword from its sheath, that two shields sweated blood in Sicily,[8] that at Antium bleeding ears of corn fell into reapers' baskets, that at Caere water flowed mingled with blood. Also in the Second Punic War it was accepted that an ox belonging to Cn. Domitius said, "Rome, beware!"

C. Flaminius was made Consul without auspices. When he was about to join battle with Hannibal at Lake Trasimene and gave orders for standards to be pulled up, his horse slipped and he was thrown over its head to the ground. Nothing daunted by the prodigy, he threatened the standard-bearers who told him that the standards could not be moved from their positions with a flogging unless they dug them up immediately.[9] But would that he had paid the penalty for his rashness only with his own mishap and not with a great calamity of the Roman people! For in that battle fifteen thousand Romans were killed, six thousand taken prisoner, twenty thousand put to flight. The body of the butchered Consul was sought by Hannibal for burial; he, so far as in him lay, had buried Roman empire.

To Flaminius' headlong audacity succeeds C. Hostilius Mancinus with his insane obstinacy. These prodigies came

[7] Mistake for Holitorium (Livy).

[8] Sardinia according to Livy and Nepotianus, Sicily in Valerius' manuscripts.

[9] Livy 22.3.11–14 etc.

in Hispaniam ituro haec prodigia acciderunt: cum Lavinii sacrificium facere vellet, pulli cavea emissi in proximam silvam fugerunt summaque diligentia quaesiti reperiri nequiverunt. cum ab Herculis portu, quo pedibus pervenerat, navem conscenderet, talis vox sine ullo auctore ad aures eius pervenit: 'Mancine, mane.' qua territus, cum itinere converso Genuam petisset et ibi scapham esset ingressus, anguis eximiae magnitudinis visus e conspectu abiit. ergo prodigiorum numerum numero calamitatium aequavit: infelici pugna, turpi foedere, deditione funesta.

8 Minus miram in homine parum considerato temeritatem Ti. Gracchi gravissimi civis tristis exitus et prodigio denuntiatus nec evitatus consilio facit: consul enim cum in Lucanis sacrificasset, angues duae ex occulto prolapsae repente hostiae, quam immolaverat, adeso iocinere in easdem se latebras rettulerunt. ob id deinde factum instaurato sacrificio idem prodigii evenit. tertia quoque caesa victima diligentiusque adservatis extis neque adlapsus serpentium arceri neque fuga impediri potuit. quod quamvis haruspices ad salutem imperatoris pertinere dixissent, Gracchus tamen non cavit ne perfidi hospitis sui Flavii insidiis in eum locum deductus in quo Poenorum dux Mago cum armata manu delituerat inermis occideretur.

9 Et consulatus collegium et erroris societas et par genus

---

[10] Mancinus was Consul in 137 and the three disasters befell him at Numantia. The senate surrendered him to the Numantines, who refused to take him, when it disavowed his treaty. [11] Actually Proconsul in 212, the year after his second Consulship. [12] Livy 25.16 etc. The Lucanian's name may have been Flavius or Flavus.

his way as he was about to go to Spain as Consul: when he was minded to offer sacrifice at Lanuvium, the chickens on being let out from their coop fled into a nearby wood and could not be found though most diligently searched for. When he was going aboard ship from Harbour of Hercules, where he had arrived on foot, a voice from nowhere came to his ears: "Mancinus, remain!" Frightened by this, he changed route and made for Genua, where he boarded a boat; a snake of extraordinary size appeared and then disappeared. So he equalled the number of portents with the number of his disasters: a lost battle, a disgraceful treaty, a lamentable handover.[10]

Such temerity in a man of little judgment is rendered less strange by the sad end of a most respected citizen, Ti. Gracchus, which a prodigy warned of but prudence did not avoid. For when as Consul[11] he made sacrifice in Lucania, two snakes suddenly slid from hiding, ate the liver of the victim he had immolated, and withdrew into the same lair. He then on that account repeated the sacrifice, and the same prodigy befell. A third victim was slaughtered and its entrails more carefully guarded, but the approach of the reptiles could not be blocked nor their withdrawal prevented. Although the soothsayers said that the life of the general was concerned, Gracchus allowed himself to be brought by the treachery of a false friend, Flavus, to a place where the Carthaginian commander Mago lay in ambush with an armed band, and was there killed unarmed.[12]

Their association in the Consulship,[13] their partnership

[13] Gracchus was Consul for the first time in 215 with L. Postumius Albinus, who was killed in Cisalpine Gaul. Marcellus was chosen in his place but the Augurs annulled the election.

mortis a Ti. Graccho ad <M.>[70] Marcelli memoriam me trahit. is captarum Syracusarum et Hannibalis ante Nolana moenia a se primum fugere coacti gloria inflammatus, cum summo studio niteretur ut Poenorum exercitum aut in Italia prosterneret aut Italia pelleret, sollemnique sacrificio voluntates deorum exploraret, quae prima hostia ante foculum cecidit, eius iocur sine capite inventum est, proxima caput iocineris duplex habuit. quibus inspectis haruspex tristi vultu non placere sibi exta, quia prima truncata, secunda nimis[71] laeta apparuissent, respondit. ita monitus M. Marcellus ne quid temere conaretur, insequenti nocte speculandi gratia cum paucis egredi ausus, a multitudine hostium in Bruttiis circumventus aeque magnum dolorem ac detrimentum patriae interitu suo attulit.

10 Nam Octavius consul dirum omen quemadmodum timuit, ita vitare non potuit: e simulacro enim Apollinis per se abrupto capite et ita infixo humi ut avelli nequiret, armis cum collega suo dissidens Cinna praesumpsit animo ea re significari exitium suum inque maestum[72] augurium tristi fine vitae incidit, ac tum demum immobile dei caput terra refigi potuit.

11 Non sinit nos M. Crassus, inter gravissimas Romani imperii iacturas numerandus, hoc loco de se silentium agere,

[70] *add.* P

[71] prima ... laeta A *corr.*: secundum truncata l- L

[72] inque maestum *Halm*: in quem metus* AL; Br

---

[14] In 214. He captured Syracuse in 212.

[15] 208: Livy 27.26f. etc.

[16] Consul in 87. The story is not found elsewhere.

in error, and the parallel nature of their deaths draw me from Ti. Gracchus to the memory of M. Marcellus. Fired by the glory of Syracuse captured and Hannibal for the first time routed by him before the walls of Nola,[14] he strove his hardest either to lay low the Carthaginian army in Italy or to drive it out of Italy. As he enquired the will of the gods in a ceremonial sacrifice, the liver of the first victim to fall before the hearth was found to be headless and the second had a double-headed liver. After inspection the soothsayer pronounced with a gloomy countenance that the entrails misliked him, because the first showed mutilated and the second excessive. Thus admonished to avoid rash enterprise, on the following night M. Marcellus ventured out with a few companions to reconnoitre. Surrounded by a large number of enemies, in the country of the Bruttii, he perished, bringing his country grief and loss in equal measure.[15]

As for Consul Octavius,[16] he feared a dire omen but could not avoid it. The head from a statue of Apollo broke off of itself and fixed itself in the ground, so that it could not be pulled away. Being in armed conflict with his colleague Cinna, Octavius realised that his death was thus portended; and by his dismal end he encountered the sad augury. Only then could the god's immovable head be unfixed from the earth.

M. Crassus, who is to be numbered among the heaviest disasters of Roman empire,[17] does not allow me to pass him over in silence at this point. Before the great calamity

[17] For *iactura* thus cf. 8.1.damn.4 *frater suus, maritimarum virium nostrarum praecipua iactura.* The omens will have come from Livy, now lost; cf. Plut. *Crass.* 23, Obsequens 64.

plurimis et evidentissimis ante tantam ruinam monstrorum pulsatus ictibus. ducturus erat a Carrhis adversus Parthos exercitum: pullum ei traditum est paludamentum, cum in proelium exeuntibus album aut purpureum dari soleat; maesti et taciti milites ad principia convenerunt, qui vetere instituto cum clamore alacri accurrere debebant; aquilarum altera vix convelli a primo pilo potuit, altera aegerrime extracta in contrariam ac ferebatur partem se ipsa convertit. magna haec prodigia, sed et illae clades aliquanto maiores, tot pulcherrimarum legionum interitus, tam multa signa hostilibus intercepta manibus, tantum Romanae militiae decus barbarorum obtritum equitatu, optimae indolis filii cruore paterni respersi oculi, corpus imperatoris inter promiscuas cadaverum strues avium ferarumque laniatibus obiectum. vellem quidem placidius, sed quod relatu<m>[73] verum est. sic deorum spreti monitus excandescunt, sic humana consilia castigantur, ubi se caelestibus praeferunt.

12 Cn. etiam Pompeium Iuppiter omnipotens abunde monuerat ne cum C. Caesare ultimam belli fortunam experiri contenderet, egresso a Dyrrachio adversa agmini eius fulmina iaciens, examinibus apium signa obscurando, subita tristitia implicatis militum animis, nocturnis totius exercitus terroribus, ab ipsis altaribus hostiarum fuga. sed invictae leges necessitudinis pectus alioquin procul amentia remotum prodigia ista iusta aestimatione perpendere passae non sunt. itaque, dum illa elevat, auctoritatem am-

[73] relatum *Torr.*: -tu* (revel- L) AL

---

[18] P. Licinius Crassus, a young friend of Cicero and Legate of Caesar in Gaul. [19] Lucan 7.152ff. etc.

he was buffeted by many most manifest prodigies. As he was about to lead his army from Carrhae against the Parthians, he was handed a black general's cloak, though usually a white or purple cloak is given to those going forth to battle. The soldiers gathered at his headquarters gloomy and silent, who by ancient usage should have run up with cheerful shouts. One eagle was pulled up with difficulty by the Chief Centurion, whereas another, after it was extracted with maximum effort, turned of its own accord in the opposite direction from that in which it was being carried. These were great prodigies, but the ensuing disasters were considerably greater: the destruction of so many fine legions, the capture of so many standards by enemy hands, the flower of Roman soldiery trampled under barbarian horse, a father's eyes bespattered with the blood of a highly gifted son,[18] the body of a commander-in-chief exposed to the rendings of birds and wild beasts among promiscuous heaps of corpses. I wish I could write more calmly, but the truth is as related. So do the admonitions of the gods flare up when scorned, so are human counsels punished when they set themselves above those of heaven.

To Cn. Pompeius also Jupiter the all-powerful gave ample warning not to insist on testing the ultimate fortune of war with C. Caesar: flinging thunderbolts opposite his force as he marched out of Dyrrachium, covering the standards with swarms of bees, with the soldiers' hearts enveloped in sudden despondency, the whole army prey to nocturnal panics, victims fleeing from the very altars.[19] But the unconquerable laws of necessity did not suffer Pompey's mind, otherwise far removed from folly, to weigh these prodigies in just assessment. So making light of them, in the space of a single day he shattered a splendid

plissimam et opes privato fastigio excelsiores omniaque ornamenta, quae ab ineunte adulescentia ad invidiam usque contraxerat, spatio unius diei confregit. quo constat in delubris deum sua sponte signa conversa, militarem clamorem strepitumque armorum adeo magnum Antiochiae et Ptolemaide auditum ut in muros concurreretur, sonum tympanorum Pergami abditis[74] delubri[75] editum, palmam viridem Trallibus in aede Victoriae sub Caesaris statua inter coagmenta lapidum iustae magnitudinis enatam. quibus apparet caelestium numen et Caesaris gloriae favisse et Pompeii errorem inhibere voluisse.

13 Tuas aras tuaque sanctissima templa, dive Iuli, veneratus, oro ut propitio ac faventi numine tantorum casus virorum sub tui exempli praesidio ac tutela delitescere patiaris: te enim accepimus eo die quo purpurea veste velatus aurea in sella consedisti, ne maximo studio senatus exquisitum et delatum honorem sprevisse videreris, priusquam exoptatum civium oculis conspectum tui offerres, cultui religionis, in quam mox eras transiturus, vacasse mactatoque opimo bove cor in extis non repperisse, ac responsum tibi ab Spurinna haruspice pertinere id signum ad vitam et consilium tuum, quod utraque haec corde continerentur. erupit deinde eorum parricidium qui, dum te hominum numero subtrahere volunt, deorum concilio adiecerunt.

[74] adytis *Gudius*
[75] delubri *Lipsius*: -ris AL

---

[20] These Asiatic omens come from Caes. *Bell. Civ.* 3.105.3–6.

reputation and power higher than private eminence and all those distinctions that he had gathered from early youth even to the arousing of ill will. It is accepted that on that day statues of the gods in temples turned about of their own motion, soldiers' shouting and the clash of arms were heard so loud in Antioch and Ptolemais that the people ran to the walls, at Pergamus a sound of drums came out of the hidden recesses of a temple, at Tralles a sizable green palm sprouted in the joints of the stones under Caesar's statue in the temple of Victory.[20] All of which plainly shows that the gods' divinity both favoured Caesar's glory and were fain to check Pompey's mistake.

Worshipping your altars and your most holy temple, divine Julius, I pray that with propitious and favouring deity you may suffer the calamities of these great men to hide beneath the protection and support of your example. We are told that on the day when robed in purple you took your seat on a golden chair, not wishing to seem to slight an honour so loyally selected and offered by the senate, before presenting the longed-for sight of your person to the eyes of the citizenry, you gave some time to the observance of religion, of which you were shortly to become a part; that when a prime ox was slaughtered, you found no heart in his entrails and the diviner Spurinna made you response that this sign concerned your life and your design because both were contained in the heart.[21] Then there broke out the parricidal act of those who, wishing to remove you from the number of men, added you to the council of the gods.

[21] Cic. *Div.* 1.119 etc. The heart was thought to be the seat of understanding.

praef. Claudatur hoc exemplo talium ostentorum domestica relatio, ne si ulterius Romana apprehendero, e caelesti templo ad privatas domos non consentaneos usus[76] transtulisse videar. attingam igitur externa, quae Latinis litteris inserta, ut auctoritatis minus habent, ita aliquid gratae varietatis adferre possunt.

ext. 1a In exercitu Xerxis, quem adversus [provinciam][77] Graeciam contraxerat, equae partu leporem editum constat. quo genere monstri tanti apparatus significatus est eventus: nam qui mare classibus, terram pedestri <exercitu operuerat, ut imbelle>[78] et fugax animal pavido regressu regnum suum repetere est coactus.

ext. 1b Eidem montem Athon vix tandem transgresso, priusquam Athenas deleret Lacedaemonis invadendae consilium agitanti admirabile inter cenam prodigium incidit: infusum namque paterae eius vinum in sanguinem, nec semel sed iterum et tertio, conversum est. qua de re consulti magi monuerunt ut se ab incepto proposito abstineret: et si quod vestigium in vecordi pectore sensus fuisset, <et a deis>[79] ante et a Leonida et trecentis eius[80] Spartanis abunde monitum.

ext. 2 Midae vero, cuius imperio Phrygia fuit subiecta, puero dormienti formicae in os grana tritici congesserunt. parentibus deinde eius quorsum prodigium tenderet explorantibus augures responderunt omnium illum mortalium futu-

[76] Br [77] provinciam* *del. Novák*
[78] *lacunam* L *corr. de additamentis* Br [79] *add. SB*[1]
[80] ante de Leonida et a Caesare* AL: *corr. Torr.*

---

[22] 481: Herod. 7.57.

EXTERNAL

With this example let the domestic recital of such portents be concluded, lest if I take Roman ones beyond this point I may be thought to have transferred their use from a god's temple to private dwellings where they do not belong. So I will turn to external items. Put into Latin writings they have less authority, but may bring some welcome variety.

In the army of Xerxes, which he had assembled against Greece, it is accepted that a mare gave birth to a hare,[22] by the nature of which prodigy the outcome of so much preparation was signified. For he who had covered the sea with fleets and the land with footsoldiers like a cowardly, fugitive animal was forced to make back for his kingdom in panic retreat.

The same monarch had finally passed Mount Athos before destroying Athens and was making plans to invade Lacedaemon, when a remarkable prodigy happened to him at dinner; for the wine poured into his bowl changed to blood, not once but twice and three times.[23] Consulted on the matter, the magi warned him to desist from the project he had begun. And if there had been any vestige of sense in his mad mind, ample warning was given both earlier on by the gods and by Leonidas and the three hundred Spartans.

Phrygia was under the rule of Midas.[24] When he was a boy, ants put grains of wheat into his mouth as he slept. When his parents enquired to what the prodigy tended, the Augurs responded that he would be the richest of all

[23] No such omen is recorded by any other ancient writer.
[24] Figure of legend.

rum ditissimum. nec vana praedictio exstitit: nam Midas cunctorum paene regum opes abundantia pecuniae antecessit, infantiaeque incunabula vili[81] deorum munere donata onustis auro atque argento gazis pensavit.

ext. 3 Formicis Midae iure meritoque apes Platonis praetulerim: illae enim caducae ac fragilis, hae solidae et aeternae felicitatis indices exstiterunt, dormientis in cunis parvuli labellis mel inserendo. qua re audita prodigiorum interpretes singularem eloquii suavitatem ore eius emanaturam dixerunt. ac mihi quidem illae apes non montem Hymettium thymi flore redolentem, sed Musarum Heliconios colles omni genere doctrinae virentes dearum instinctu depastae maximo ingenio dulcissima summae eloquentiae instillasse videntur alimenta.

7. DE SOMNIIS

praef. Sed quoniam divitem[82] Midae disertumque Platonis somnum attigi, referam quam certis imaginibus multorum quies adumbrata sit.

1 Quem locum unde potius ordiar quam a divi Augusti sacratissima memoria? eius medico Artorio, somnum capienti nocte quam dies insecutus est quo in campis Philippiis Romani inter se exercitus concurrerunt, Minervae species oborta praecepit ut illum gravi morbo implicitum moneret ne propter adversam valitudinem proximo proelio non interesset. quod cum Caesar audisset, lectica

[81] vili *Madvig*: utili AL [82] divitem *Gelbcke*: -tias AL

---

[25] Cic. *Div.* 1.78, 2.66. [26] Cic. ibid. etc.

[1] In October or November 42.

mankind.[25] Nor did their prophecy prove idle, for Midas excelled the wealth of almost all kings in the abundance of his money and balanced the cradle of his infancy, dowered by the cheap gift of the gods, with treasuries laden with gold and silver.

With good and sufficient reason would I prefer the bees of Plato to Midas' ants. The latter foretold of transitory, fragile felicity, the former of solid and eternal, by putting honey between the lips of the little lad as he slept in his cradle. Hearing of it, the interpreters of prodigies said that matchless sweetness of discourse would flow from his mouth.[26] And to my thinking those bees at the prompting of the goddesses, fed, not upon Mount Hymettus, fragrant with flowers of thyme, but on the Heliconian hills of the Muses, verdant with every kind of learning, and instilled sweetest nurture of supreme eloquence into that mighty intellect.

7. OF DREAMS

Now since I have mentioned Midas' wealthy sleep and Plato's eloquent sleep, I shall relate with what sure apparitions the repose of many has been shadowed.

And where should I begin that topic but with the most sacred memory of the divine Augustus? On the night before that day[1] on which Roman armies clashed on the plains of Philippi, a likeness of Minerva appeared to his doctor Artorius, who was taking his repose, and told him to warn his patient (who was gravely ill) not to let sickness keep him from being present at the forthcoming battle. When Caesar heard this, he gave orders that he should be

se in aciem deferri iussit. ubi dum supra vires corporis pro adipiscenda victoria excubat, castra eius a Bruto capta sunt. quid ergo aliud putamus quam divino numine effectum ne destinatum iam immortalitati caput indignam caelesti spiritu Fortunae violentiam sentiret?

2 Augustum vero praeter naturalem animi in omnibus rebus subtiliter perspiciendis vigorem etiam recens et domesticum exemplum ut Artorii somnio obtemperaret admonuit: audiverat enim divi Iulii patris sui uxorem Calpurniam, nocte quam is ultimam in terris egit, in quiete vidisse multis eum confectum vulneribus in suo sinu iacentem, somniique atrocitate vehementer exterritam rogare non destitisse ut proximo die curia se abstineret; at illum, ne muliebri somnio motus id fecisse existimaretur, senatum, in quo ei parricidarum manus allatae sunt, haberi contendisse. non est ‹opus›[83] inter patrem et filium ullius rei comparationem fieri, praesertim divinitatis fastigio iunctos, sed iam alter operibus suis aditum sibi ad caelum instruxerat, alteri longus adhuc terrestrium virtutum orbis restabat. quapropter ab hoc tantummodo impendentem mutationem status cognosci, ab illo etiam differri di immortales voluerunt, ut aliud caelo decus daretur, aliud promitteretur.

3 Illud etiam somnium et magnae admirationis et clari exitus, quod eadem nocte duo consules P. Decius Mus et T. Manlius Torquatus Latino bello gravi ac periculoso[84] non

[83] *add. Madvig* (est *intra cruces Briscoe*)
[84] ac peric- gravi AL, *corr. Kempf*

---

2 Vell. 2.70.1 etc.

carried into the fray on a litter. And while he there kept vigil beyond his bodily strength for gaining victory, his camp was captured by Brutus.[2] What else then do we think but that by the work of divine power the head already destined to immortality felt no violence of Fortune unmeet for a celestial spirit?

Augustus now, besides his mind's natural vigour in subtle perception of all matters, was admonished by a recent domestic example to comply with Artorius' dream. For he had heard that Calpurnia, his father the divine Julius' wife, on the last night[3] her husband spent on earth saw him in her sleep lying in her lap prostrate with many wounds, and that badly frightened by the horror of the dream she kept on begging him to stay away from the senate house next day. But unwilling to let it be thought that he did so in alarm at a woman's dream, he persisted in holding a senate, in which the hands of the parricides were raised against him.[4] Between father and son no sort of comparison is to be made, especially as they are joined together on the summit of divinity; but the one had already raised for himself an access to heaven by his works, while a lengthy round of earthly achievements still remained for the other. Therefore the immortal gods chose that the former should only be made aware of the coming change in his condition, while the other should also postpone it, so that the one glory be given to heaven, the other promised.

Another dream also of great marvel and clear outcome: two Consuls, P. Decius Mus and T. Manlius Torquatus, had it on the same night in the grave and dangerous Latin War

[3] Of March 14/15, 44.
[4] Vell. 2.57.2 etc.

procul a Vesuvii montis radicibus positis castris viderunt: utrique enim quaedam[85] per quietem species[86] praedixit ex altera acie imperatorem, ex altera exercitum dis Manibus Matrique Terrae deberi: utrius autem dux copias hostium superque eas sese ipsum devovisset, victricem abituram. id luce proxima consulibus sacrificio vel expiaturis, si posset averti, vel, si certum deorum etiam monitu visum foret, exsecuturis hostiarum exta somnio congruerunt, convenitque inter eos cuius cornu prius laborare coepisset, ut is capite suo fata patriae lueret. quae neutro reformidante Decium depoposcerunt.

4 Sequitur aeque ad publicam religionem pertinens somnium. cum plebeiis quidam ludis pater familias per circum Flaminium, prius quam pompa induceretur, servum suum verberibus mulcatum sub furca ad supplicium egisset, ‹T.› Latin‹i›o[87] homini ex plebe Iuppiter in quiete praecepit ut consulibus diceret sibi praesultorem ludis circensibus proximis non placuisse: quae res nisi attenta ludorum instauratione expiata esset, secuturum non mediocre urbis periculum. ille veritus ne cum aliquo incommodo suo religione summum implicaret imperium, silentium egit, e vestigioque filius eius subita vi morbi correptus interiit. ipse etiam per quietem ab eodem deo interrogatus an satis magnam poenam neglecti imperii sui pependisset, in proposito perseverans debilitate corporis solutus est, ac tum

[85] quaedam ς: quidam AL [86] quietem species *Stanger*: equietis speciem A^{p}, L [87] *add. Kempf*

---

[5] 340: Livy 8.6 etc.

[6] 491: Cic. *Div.* 1.55, Livy 2.36, Dion. Hal. 7.68 etc. For the variant versions see Pease on the first.

at their camp pitched not far from the roots of Mount Vesuvius. For to both an apparition in sleep predicted that a general on one side and an army on the other were due to the Manes and Mother Earth; and the side whose commander devoted the enemy forces and over and above them himself would come off victorious. Next morning the Consuls made sacrifice, intending either to expiate the prophecy if it were possible to avoid it, or to carry it out, if a warning from the gods too confirmed the vision. The victims' entrails agreeing with the dream, they settled between them that whosever wing came into trouble first, he should discharge the country's fates with his own life. Neither flinched, but the fates demanded Decius.[5]

There follows a dream no less pertinent to public religion.[6] At the Plebeian Games[7] a certain head of a household led a slave of his, who had been flogged, under the fork to execution through the Circus Flaminius before the procession was brought in. Jupiter in a dream directed T. Latinius, a man of the people, to tell the Consuls that the front dancer at the last Circus Games had not been to his liking; and unless this was expiated by a heedful repetition of the games, no ordinary danger to the city would follow. Fearing that he might involve the supreme magistracy in a religious obligation at some detriment to himself, the man kept silent. There and then his son was struck by a paralysis and died. Latinius too was asked in a dream by the same god whether he had paid a sufficient penalty for neglecting his command. Persisting in his course, he was incapacitated by weakness of body. Then finally at the advice of his

7 Actually Great or Votive Games, Ludi Magni (Cicero and Livy).

demum ex consilio amicorum lecticula ad tribunal consulum et inde ad senatum delatus,[88] ordine totius casus sui exposito, magna cum omnium admiratione recuperata membrorum firmitate pedibus domum rediit.

5 Ac ne illud quidem involvendum silentio. inimicorum conspiratione urbe pulsus M. Cicero, cum in villa quadam campi Atinatis deversaretur, animo in somnum profuso per loca deserta et invias regiones vaganti sibi C. Marium consulatus ornatum insignibus putavit obvium factum, interrogantem eum quid ita tam tristi vultu incerto itinere ferretur. audito deinde casu quo conflictabatur, comprehendisse dexteram suam ac se proximo lictori in monumentum ipsius ducendum tradidisse, quod diceret ibi esse ei laetioris status spem repositam. nec aliter evenit: nam in aede Iovis Mariana senatus consultum de reditu est eius factum.

6 C. autem Graccho imminentis casus atrocitas palam atque aperte per quietem denuntiata est: somno enim pressus Tiberii fratris effigiem vidit dicentis sibi nulla ratione eum vitare posse ne eo fato non periret quo ipse occidisset. id ex Graccho prius quam tribunatum, in quo fraternum exitum habuit, iniret multi audierunt. Coelius[89] etiam, certus Romanae historiae auctor, sermonem de ea

[88] delatus P: perl- AL [89] Coelius *Briscoe*: Cael- AL

---

[8] Cic. *Div.* 1.59, 2.136f. Cicero was exiled in 58 and recalled the following year. [9] A title, connoting primacy; see Mommsen, *Staatsrecht* I.375. Cf. VM 2.2.4. He walked immediately in front of the magistrate. [10] Two decrees are confused, the first passed in Marius' temple of Valour (Virtus), the second in Jupiter's temple on the Capitol (cf. *RE* VIIA.924f.).

friends he was carried in a litter to the Consuls' tribunal and thence to the senate, where he told what had befallen him from first to last. After which, to the great amazement of all, his limbs recovered their strength and he walked home.

This too must not be wrapped in silence.[8] Driven out of Rome by a gang of his enemies, M. Cicero was lodging for the night at a farm in the plain of Atina. There relaxed in sleep he thought he was wandering in a desert place, pathless regions, when C. Marius, wearing the insignia of the Consulship, met him and asked him why he was travelling uncertain of his route with so sad a countenance. Then, having heard the misfortune which afflicted him, he took Cicero's right hand and gave him to his Proximate Lictor[9] with orders to take him to Marius' own monument, saying that hope of better things for him lay there. Nor did it turn out otherwise. For in the Marian temple of Jupiter[10] the senate passed its decree for his return.

C. Gracchus[11] was warned plainly and openly in a dream of the terrible fate in store for him. For deep in slumber he saw the likeness of his brother Tiberius, who told him that he could by no means avoid perishing by the same death as himself. Many heard this from Gracchus before he entered upon the tribunate in which he died like his brother. Coelius[12] too, a reliable authority for Roman

11 Cic. *Div.* 1.56, Plut. *C. Gracch.* 1.

12 Coelius Antipater, second-century author of a history of the First Punic War. Valerius takes this from Cicero. C. Gracchus had the dream before his Quaestorship in 126 (Plutarch). The brothers were killed in 133 and 121 respectively.

re ad suas aures illo adhuc vivo pervenisse scribit.

7 Vincit huiusce somnii dirum aspectum quod insequitur. apud Actium M. Antonii fractis opibus, Cassius Parmensis, qui partes eius secutus fuerat, Athenas confugit. ubi concubia nocte cum ‹ex›[90] sollicitudinibus et curis mente sopita in lectulo iaceret, existimavit ad se venire hominem ingentis magnitudinis, coloris nigri, squalidum barba et capillo immisso, interrogatumque quisnam esset respondisse *κακὸν δαίμονα*. perterritus deinde taetro visu et nomine horrendo servos inclamavit, sciscitatusque est ecquem talis habitus aut intrantem cubiculum aut exeuntem vidissent. quibus adfirmantibus neminem illuc accessisse, iterum se quieti et somno dedit, atque eadem animo eius obversata species est. itaque fugato somno lumen intro ferri iussit puerosque a se discedere vetuit. inter hanc noctem et supplicium capitis quo eum Caesar adfecit parvulum admodum temporis intercessit.

8 Propioribus tamen, ut ita dicam, lineis Haterii Rufi equitis Romani somnus[91] certo eventu admonitus[92] est. qui, cum gladiatorium munus Syracusis ederetur, inter quietem retiarii se manu confodi vidit, idque postero die in spectaculo consessoribus narravit. incidit deinde ut proximo ab equite loco retiarius cum murmillone introduceretur. cuius cum faciem vidisset, i‹s›dem dixit ab illo retiario trucidari putasse ‹se›,[93] protinusque inde discedere

[90] *add. SB*[3] [91] somnus *SB*[1]: -nium AL [92] eventu (G *corr.*) admonitus *Kraffert*: adventu admonitum* AL
[93] *add.* A *corr., sed post* illo

---

13 One of Caesar's assassins. A similar but less detailed version is told of M. Brutus by Plutarch (*Brut.* 36, *Caes.* 69) and others.

history, writes that talk on this matter came to his own ears during Gracchus' lifetime.

What follows outdoes the dire aspect of this dream. After Mark Antony's power had been broken at Actium, Cassius of Parma,[13] who had followed his party, fled to Athens. As he was lying in bed there at dead of night deep in sleep after his anxieties and cares, he thought that a man of huge proportions, black in colour, with unkempt beard and hair hanging down visited him and when asked who he was replied, "your bad angel." Alarmed by the horrible sight and the fearful name, he called his servants and enquired whether they had seen anyone of that appearance entering or leaving the bedroom. They answered that nobody had come that way. So Cassius gave himself up again to rest and sleep; and the same apparition came before his mind. So with sleep put to flight he ordered a light brought in and the slaves not to leave him. Between that night and his execution by Caesar's order very little time intervened.

But the slumber of Haterius Rufus,[14] a Roman knight, was admonished with a closer delineation, so to speak, and with sure outcome. When a gladiatorial show was in progress at Syracuse, he saw himself in sleep stabbed by the hand of a netfighter, and related this to people sitting in his neighbourhood at the show next day. It happened then that a netfighter and a *murmillo* were brought in at a point just close to our knight. As soon as he saw the netfighter's face he said to the same persons that this was the man who he thought had killed him, and wanted to leave then and

14 Otherwise unknown. Haterius is a commoner form of the name than Aterius favoured by the manuscripts.

voluit. illi sermone suo metu eius discusso causam exitii misero attulerunt: retiarius enim in eum locum compulso murmillone et abiecto, dum iacentem ferire conatur, traiectum gladio Haterium interemit.

ext. 1 Hannibalis quoque ut detestandum Romano sanguini ita certae praedictionis somnium, cuius non vigiliae tantum sed etiam ipsa quies hostilis imperio nostro fuit: hausit enim proposito et votis suis convenientem imaginem, existimavitque missum sibi ab Iove mortali specie excelsiorem iuvenem invadendae Italiae ducem. cuius monitu primo vestigia nullam in partem ‹deflexis›[94] secutus oculis, mox humani ingenii prona voluntate vetita scrutandi pone respiciens, animadvertit immensae magnitudinis serpentem concitato impetu omne quidquid obvium fuerat proterentem, postque eam magno cum caeli fragore erumpentes nimbos lucemque caliginosis involutam tenebris. attonitus deinde quidnam ‹id›[95] esset monstri et quid portenderet interrogavit. hic dux 'Italiae vides' inquit 'vastitatem: proinde sile et cetera tacitis permitte fatis.'

ext. 2 Quam bene Macedoniae rex Alexander per quietem visa imagine praemonitus erat ut vitae suae custos esset diligentior, si eum cavendi etiam periculi consilio Fortuna instruere voluisset: namque Cassandri pestiferam sibi dexteram somnio prius cognovit quam exitu sensit: existi-

[94] *add. Vorst* [95] *add.* P

---

[15] *Gladius,* here dagger rather than sword. Monuments show netfighters armed with such, as well as with their tridents.

[16] In 218 on the eve of his Italian adventure: Polyb. 3.48, Cic.

there. But they talked him out of his fright and so brought about the poor fellow's destruction. For the netfighter forced the *murmillo* to that spot and threw him down; then, as he tried to strike his prostrate adversary, he ran Haterius through with his knife[15] and slew him.

EXTERNAL

Hannibal's dream[16] too, however detestable to one of Roman blood, gave a sure prediction; not only his waking hours but even his very sleep was hostile to our empire. For he drank in a vision fitting his design and prayers. He thought a young man, taller than mortal form, had been sent to him by Jupiter to guide the invasion of Italy. Warned by him, Hannibal at first followed in his track without turning his eyes in any direction; but presently with the tendency of the human mind to want to scrutinize the forbidden he looked back and saw a reptile of immense size trampling in its headlong rush everything in its path; and behind the reptile rainstorms bursting amid mighty thunderclaps and light enveloped in murky shades. Amazed, he asked what sort of prodigy was this and what it portended. Then said the guide: "You see the devastation of Italy. So hold your peace and leave the rest to the silent fates."

How well was Alexander, king of Macedonia, warned in a vision during sleep, to take better care of his life, had Fortune also chosen to furnish him with prudence to guard against the danger! For he learned of Cassander's fatal hand in a dream before he felt it by his death. He

Div. 1.49, Livy 21.22.6–9. Cicero gives the item from the Greek history of Silenus via Coelius Antipater.

mavit enim ab illo se interfici, cum eum numquam vidisset. interposito deinde tempore postquam in conspectum venit, nocturni metus patefacta imagine, ut Antipatri filium esse cognovit, adiecto versu Graeco qui fidem somniorum elevat, praeparati iam adversus caput suum veneficii, quo occidisse Cassandri manu creditur, suspicionem animo rep<p>ulit.[96]

ext. 3 Longe indulgentius di in poeta Simonide, cuius salutarem inter quietem admonitionem consilii firmitate roborarunt: is enim, cum ad litus navem appulisset inhumatumque corpus iacens sepulturae mandasset, admonitus ab eo ne proximo die navigaret, in terra remansit. qui inde solverant, fluctibus et procellis in conspectu eius obruti sunt: ipse laetatus est quod vitam suam somnio quam navi credere maluisset. memor<iam>[97] autem beneficii elegantissimo carmine aeternitati consecravit, melius illi et diuturnius in animis hominum sepulcrum constituens quam in desertis et ignotis harenis struxerat.

ext. 4 Efficax et illa quietis imago quae Croesi regis animum maximo prius metu deinde etiam dolore confecit: nam e duobus filiis et ingenii agilitate et corporis dotibus praestantiorem imperiique successioni destinatum Atym existimavit ferro sibi ereptum. itaque quidquid ad evitandam denuntiatae cladis acerbitatem pertinebat, nulla ex parte patria cura cessavit [avertere].[98] solitus erat iuvenis ad bel-

[96] repulit ς: retu-* AL [97] *add. Gudius;* Br
[98] *del. Novák*

---

[17] The dream is mentioned nowhere else.

[18] Cic. *Div.* 1.56, 2.135. The couplet in *Anth. Pal.* 7.77 may not be authentic.

thought he was being murdered by that man, though he had never seen him. Then, when after some time had gone by Cassander came before him, the semblance of that nighttime terror was plain. But when he was told that it was Antipater's son, he quoted a Greek verse which makes light of the reliability of dreams and dismissed suspicion of the poison already prepared against his person, by which he is believed to have died at Cassander's hand.[17]

Far more indulgent were the gods in the case of Simonides the poet, for they fortified the salutary warning given in his sleep with the backing of prudence. Having put his ship into shore and consigned to interment a body lying unburied, he was warned by the same not to go to sea next day, so he stayed on land. Those who had put off were overwhelmed by waves and tempests before his eyes. He himself rejoiced that he had chosen to trust his life to a dream rather than to a ship. Mindful of the service, he consecrated the dead man to immortality by a most elegant poem, thus establishing for him a better and more lasting sepulchre in the minds of men than he had raised in the desert and uncharted sand.[18]

Effective also was that sleep-vision which cowed the mind of king Croesus, first with extreme of fear, then also with sorrow.[19] For he thought that one of his two sons, Atys, who excelled the other[20] both in mental agility and physical endowment and whom he destined to succeed him, was snatched from him by steel. So whatever might avail to evade the bitterness of the foretold calamity, at no point was the father's care and attention lacking. The young man used to be sent on campaigns: he was kept

[19] Herod. 1.34ff. [20] See VM 5.4.ext.6.

la gerenda mitti: domi retentus est; habebat armamentarium omnis generis telorum copia refertum: id quoque amoveri iussit; gladio cinctis comitibus utebatur: vetiti sunt propius accedere. necessitas tamen aditum luctui dedit: cum enim ingentis magnitudinis aper Olympi montis culta crebra cum agrestium strage vastaret, inusitatoque malo regium imploratum esset auxilium, filius a patre extorsit ut ad eum opprimendum mitteretur, eo quidem facilius quod non dentis sed ferri saevitia in metu reponebatur. verum dum acri studio interficiendi suem omnes sunt intenti, pertinax casus imminentis violentia[99] lanceam petendae ferae gratia emissam in eum detorsit, et quidem eam potissimum dextram nefariae caedis crimine voluit aspergi cui tutela filii a patre mandata erat, quamque Croesus imprudentis homicidii sanguine violatam hospitales veritus deos supplicem sacrificio expiaverat.

ext. 5 Ne Cyrus quidem superior invictae fatorum necessitatis parvulum argumentum est. cuius ortus ad imperium totius Asiae spectantis maternus avus Astyages duo praenuntia somnia[100] frustra discutere temptavit, Mandanen filiam suam, quod in quiete viderat urinam eius omnes Asiaticas gentes inundasse, non Medorum excellentissimo, ne in eius familiam regni decus transferretur, sed Persarum modicae fortunae viro collocando, natumque Cyrum exponi iubendo, quia similiter quietis temporibus existimaverat genitali parte Mandanes ‹e›natam[101] vitem eo usque crevisse donec cunctas dominationis suae partes

[99] violentia *Madvig*: -ae AL
[100] praenuntia (A *corr.*) somnia *Wensky*: -tios somnii AL
[101] *add.* ς

---

[21] I.e. Fate, as elsewhere in Valerius.

at home. He had an armoury filled with abundance of all kinds of weapons: that too was ordered removed. His companions were wont to wear swords: they were forbidden to go near him. And yet necessity[21] opened the way to mourning. For when a boar of enormous size was wasting the cultivated areas of Mount Olympus with much slaughter of peasantry and in this unheard-of distress the royal succour was invoked, the son wrung from his father that he be sent to destroy the animal, and with the less difficulty because the fear lay in the cruelty of steel, not tusk. But with all eagerly intent on killing the boar, pertinacious fate in its impending violence turned a spear aimed at the beast against Atys, and chose that the hand spattered with the crime of this heinous murder should be none other than his to whom the father had entrusted his son's guardianship,[22] the suppliant hand, stained with the blood of an involuntary homicide, which Croesus had purified with sacrifice, revering the gods of hospitality.

The elder Cyrus too is no trifling proof of the unconquerable necessity of fate. His maternal grandfather Astyages tried in vain to shake off two dreams, harbingers of Cyrus' birth that looked toward the empire of all Asia: by marrying his daughter Mandane, not to the noblest of the Medes, lest the glory of kingship pass into his family, but to a Persian of middling degree, because he had seen in a dream that her urine inundated all Asiatic peoples; and by ordering Cyrus exposed at birth because likewise in sleep he had thought that a vine, sprung from Mandane's genitals, grew so high that it overshadowed all parts of his

[22] Adrastus by name, he had fled to Sardis after involuntarily killing his brother (Herod. 1.35).

inumbraret: frustratus est enim se ipse nepotis felicitatem caelestium iudicio destinatam humanis consiliis impedire conando.

ext. 6 Intra privatum autem habitum Dionysio Syracusano adhuc se continente Himerae<a> quaedam non obscuri generis femina inter quietem opinione sua caelum conscendit, atque ibidem deorum omnium lustratis sedibus animadvertit praevalentem virum flavi coloris, lentiginosi oris, ferreis catenis vinctum, Iovis solio pedibusque subiectum, interrogatoque iuvene, quo considerandi caeli duce fuerat usa, quisnam esset, audiit illum Siciliae atque Italiae dirum esse fatum, solutumque vinculis multis urbibus exitio futurum. quod somnium postero die sermone vulgavit. postquam deinde Dionysium inimica Syracusarum libertati capitibusque insontium infesta Fortuna caelesti custodia liberatum velut fulmen aliquod otio ac tranquillitati iniecit, Himeraeorum moenia inter effusam ad officium et spectaculum eius turbam intrantem ut aspexit, hunc esse quem in quiete viderat vociferata est. id cognitum tyranno c<a>usam[102] tollendae mulieris dedit.

ext. 7 Tutioris somni mater eiusdem Dionysii. quae cum eum conceptum utero haberet, parere visa est Satyriscum, consultoque prodigiorum interprete clarissimum ac potentissimum Graii sanguinis futurum certo cum eventu cognovit.

[102] causam *Foertsch*: curam AL

---

[23] Herod. 1.107ff., Justin 1.4.

[24] The dream is mentioned by Heraclides Ponticus (fourth century) ap. Tertull. *De anima* 46 and in other Greek sources.

realm. For he frustrated himself in trying to impede by human counsels the good fortune of his grandson, destined as it was by the decree of the celestials.[23]

While Dionysius[24] of Syracuse still held himself in a private station, a woman of Himera, one of no obscure family, ascended into heaven, as she thought, in her sleep and there, as she went round the dwellings of all the gods, saw a powerfully built man with blond colouring and a freckled face, bound in steel chains, prostrate below Jupiter's throne and feet. On asking the young man who had been her guide on her heavenly tour who this was, she was told that he was the dire fate of Sicily and Italy and that once freed of his bonds he would bring destruction to many cities. Next day she spread that dream abroad in talk. Then Fortune, hostile to the liberty of Syracuse and the lives of the innocent, freed Dionysius from celestial custody and hurled him like a thunderbolt upon peace and tranquillity. When the woman saw him entering the walls of Himera amid a crowd that had turned out to greet and look at him, she cried out that this was the man she had seen in her dream. Reported to the tyrant, that gave him cause to do away with her.

The mother of the same Dionysius slept less dangerously.[25] While she was carrying him a child in her womb, she dreamt she was giving birth to an infant satyr. On consulting an interpreter of prodigies she was told (with sure event) that he would be the most famous and powerful of the Grecian race.

[25] Cic. *Div.* 1.39. *Somni* is from *somnus* (sleep), not *somnium* (dream).

ext. 8 At Carthaginiensium dux Hamilcar, cum obsideret Syracusas, inter somnum exaudisse ‹se›[103] vocem credidit nuntiantem futurum ut proximo die in ea urbe cenaret. laetus igitur perinde ac divinitus promissa victoria exercitum pugnae comparabat. in quo inter Siculos et Poenos orta dissensione, castris eius Syracusani subita irruptione oppressis ipsum intra moenia sua vinctum pertraxerunt. ita magis spe quam somnio deceptus cenavit Syracusis captivus, non, ut animo praesumpserat, victor.

ext. 9 Alcibiades quoque miserabilem exitum suum haud fallaci nocturna imagine speculatus est: quo enim pallio amicae suae dormiens opertum se viderat, ‹eo›[104] interfectus et insepultus iacens contectus est.

ext. 10 Proximum somnium etsi paulo est longius, propter nimiam tamen evidentiam ne omittatur impetrat. duo familiares Arcades iter una facientes Megaram venerunt, quorum alter se ad hospitem contulit, alter in tabernam meritoriam devertit. is qui in hospitio erat vidit in somnis comitem suum orantem ut sibi cauponis insidiis circumvento subveniret: posse enim celeri eius accursu se imminenti periculo subtrahi. quo viso excitatus prosiluit, tabernamque in qua is deversabatur petere conatus est. pestifero deinde fato eius humanissimum propositum tamquam supervacuum damnavit, et lectum ac somnum repetiit. tunc idem ei saucius oblatus obsecravit ut, quo-

[103] se L: *om.* A
[104] *add.* ς

---

[26] Cic. *Div.* 1.50, Diod. 20.29–30.

The Carthaginian commander Hamilcar, when besieging Syracuse, believed he heard in sleep a voice announcing that he would dine in the city the next day. In good spirits, therefore, as though divinely promised victory, he prepared his army for battle. But a quarrel arose in the army between Sicilians and Carthaginians, and the Syracusans in a sudden sally overran his camp and carried him off in chains within their walls. So deceived not so much by the dream as by hope, he dined in Syracuse; a prisoner, not, as he had earlier assumed, a conqueror.[26]

Alcibiades too descried his own miserable end in a nocturnal vision that did not deceive. Asleep he saw himself overspread with his mistress' cloak; lying slain and unburied, he was covered by the same.[27]

The next dream is rather lengthy, but wins admission because it is so remarkably graphic.[28] Two Arcadians, friends travelling together, came to Megara. One betook himself to a private host, the other lodged at an inn. The one in the house saw in sleep his companion entreating him to come to his aid because he was entrapped by the treachery of the innkeeper; he might be rescued from imminent peril if the other ran swiftly up. Roused by the vision, the man sprang forth and made to seek the inn where his friend was lodging. But then the other's baneful fate caused him to renounce his kindly intent as unnecessary, and he went back to bed and to sleep. Then his friend once more appeared before him stabbed and begged him, since

[27] He was killed in 404 by order of a Persian satrap with whom he had taken refuge. The dream comes from Cic. *Div.* 2.143.

[28] Cic. *Div.* 1.57, from a book on dreams by Chrysippus, the Stoic philosopher.

niam vitae suae auxilium ferre neglexisset, neci saltem ultionem non negaret: corpus enim suum a caupone trucidatum tum maxime plaustro ferri ad portam stercore coopertum. tam constantibus familiaris precibus compulsus protinus ad portam cucurrit et plaustrum, quod in quiete demonstratum erat, comprehendit, cauponemque ad capitale supplicium perduxit.

8. DE MIRACULIS

praef. Multa etiam interdiu et vigilantibus acciderunt perinde ac tenebrarum somnique[105] nube involuta. quae, quia unde manaverint aut qua ratione constiterint dinoscere arduum est, merito miracula vocentur. quorum e magno acervo in primis illud occurrit.

1a Cum apud lacum Regillum A. Postumius dictator et Tusculanorum dux Mamilius Octavius magnis viribus inter se concurrerent ac neutra acies aliquamdiu pedem referret, Castor ac Pollux Romanarum partium propugnatores visi hostiles copias penitus fuderunt.

1b Item bello Macedonico P. Vatienus,[106] Reatinae praefecturae vir, noctu urbem petens, existimavit duos iuvenes excellentis formae, albis equis residentes, obvios sibi factos nuntiare die qui praeterierat Persen regem a Paullo captum. quod cum senatui indicasset, tamquam maiestatis eius et amplitudinis vano sermone contemptor in carcerem coniectus, postquam Paulli litteris illo die Persen cap-

[105] somnique A *corr.*: -iique AL
[106] Vatienus *Nepot.* (*sed* Vaci-): Vatinius AL

he had neglected to bring help in life, at least not to deny him vengeance in death; for his body, said he, done to death by the innkeeper, was at that moment being carried to the gate in a wagon, covered with dung. Constrained by his friend's reiterated prayers, he ran to the gate forthwith, seized the wagon indicated to him in his sleep, and brought the innkeeper to capital punishment.

8. OF WONDERS

Many things also have happened in the daytime to persons awake, even as when wrapped in a cloud of darkness and sleep. Since it is hard to make out where they came from or how they originated, let them rightly be called "wonders." Out of a great heap the following comes first to hand.

When Dictator A. Postumius and the Tusculan leader Mamilius Octavius clashed at Lake Regillus in great strength and for some time neither army gave ground, Castor and Pollux, appearing as champions of Rome, totally routed the enemy forces.[1]

Likewise in the Macedonian War P. Vatienus, a man belonging to the prefecture of Reate, travelling Romewards by night thought that two exceptionally handsome young men on white horses met him and announced that on the previous day king Perses had been taken prisoner by Paullus. When he informed the senate of this, he was thrown into gaol as having flouted its majesty and grandeur with idle talk. But after a dispatch from Paullus made it clear that Perses had been taken prisoner that day, he was

[1] 499 or 496: Cic. *Nat. deor.* 2.6, 3.11, Dion. Hal. 6.13 etc.

tum apparuit, et custodia liberatus et insuper agro ac vacatione donatus est.

1c Castorem vero et Pollucem etiam illo tempore pro imperio populi Romani excubuisse cognitum est quo apud lacum Iuturnae suum equorumque sudorem abluentes visi sunt, iunctaque fonti aedis eorum nullius hominum manu reserata patuit.

2 Sed ut ceterorum quoque deorum propensum huic urbi numen exsequamur, triennio continuo vexata pestilentia civitas nostra, cum finem tanti et tam diutini mali neque divina misericordia neque humano auxilio imponi videret, cura sacerdotum inspectis Sibyllinis libris animadvertit non aliter pristinam recuperari salubritatem posse quam si ab Epidauro Aesculapius esset accersitus. itaque eo legatis missis unicam fatalis remedii opem auctoritate sua, quae iam in terris erat amplissima, impetraturam se credidit. neque eam opinio decepit: pari namque studio petitum ac promissum est praesidium, e vestigioque Epidaurii Romanorum legatos in templum Aesculapii, quod ab eorum urbe quinque milia passuum distat, perductos ut quidquid inde salubre patriae laturos se existimassent pro suo iure sumerent benignissime invitaverunt. quorum tam promptam indulgentiam numen ipsius dei subsecutum verba mortalium caelesti obsequio comprobavit, si quidem is anguis, quem Epidaurii raro, sed numquam sine magno ipsorum bono visum in modum Aesculapii venerati fuerant, per urbis celeberrimas partes mitibus oculis et

---

[2] 168: Cic. ibid. On the name, Vatienus not Vatinius, see SB[4]. The latter in the manuscripts here may be Valerius' error.

[3] Also in 168 according to Florus 1.28.14f. and Minucius Felix 7.3. Otherwise Plutarch *Aem. Paul.* 25.

released from custody and given land and exemption from service to boot.[2]

Castor and Pollux were found vigilant on behalf of the Roman people's empire on another occasion when they were seen washing the sweat from themselves and their mounts at the pool of Juturna and their temple adjoining the spring was found open though unbarred by no man's hand.[3]

But to recount the power of other gods also favouring this city, for three continuous years our community was afflicted with a pestilence. When they saw that neither divine pity nor human aid was putting an end to this protracted evil, the Sibylline books were inspected by care of the priests and they perceived that former healthy conditions could be restored only if Aesculapius was summoned from Epidaurus. So if envoys were sent thither, they believed they would be granted the remedy ordained by fate, the only possible help, by reason of Roman prestige, which was already the greatest on earth. Nor was their expectation disappointed. Succour was as eagerly promised as sought, and straightway the Epidaurians conducted the Roman envoys to the temple of Aesculapius, which is five miles distant from their city, and invited them most generously to feel free to take from it whatever they thought would be salutary to their country. The power of the god himself followed up their prompt indulgence, approving the words of mortals by celestial compliance. For the snake which the Epidaurians had venerated as Aesculapius, rarely seen and never except to their great benefit, began to glide through the most populous parts of the city, mild of eye and drawing gently along. For three days he

leni tractu labi coepit, triduoque inter religiosam omnium admirationem conspectus, haud dubiam prae se appetitae clarioris sedis alacritatem ferens ad triremem Romanam perrexit, paventibusque inusitato spectaculo nautis eo conscendit ubi Q. Ogulnii legati tabernaculum erat, inque multiplicem orbem per summam quietem est convolutus. tum legati, perinde atque exoptatae rei compotes expleta gratiarum actione, cultuque anguis a peritis excepto, laeti inde solverunt, ac prosperam emensi navigationem postquam Antium appulerunt, anguis, qui ubique in navigio remanserat, prolapsus in vestibulo aedis Aesculapii myrto frequentibus ramis diffusae superimminentem excelsae altitudinis palmam circumdedit, perque tres dies, positis quibus vesci solebat, non sine magno metu legatorum ne inde in triremem reverti nollet, Antiensis templi hospitio usus, urbi se nostrae advehendum restituit, atque in ripam Tiberis egressis legatis in insulam, ubi templum dicatum est, tranavit adventuque suo tempestatem, cui remedio quaesitus erat, dispulit.

3 Nec minus voluntarius in urbem nostram Iunonis transitus. captis a Furio Camillo Veiis, milites iussu imperatoris simulacrum Iunonis Monetae, quod ibi praecipua religione cultum erat, in urbem translaturi sede sua movere conabantur. quorum ab uno per iocum interrogata dea an Romam migrare vellet, velle se respondit. hac voce audita lusus in admirationem versus est, iamque non simulacrum sed ipsam caelo Iunonem petitam portare se cre-

---

[4] 292: Livy 10.47.6f., *Per.* 11, Ov. *Met.* 15.622–744 etc.

[5] 396: Livy 5.22 etc. [6] But in Livy (5.22.4) Juno Regina, to whom Camillus consecrated a temple on the Aventine. Juno Moneta's temple was on the Capitol.

was watched amid the religious wonderment of all, showing no uncertain eagerness for the more illustrious dwelling that he sought, and so made his way to the Roman trireme. The sailors were frightened by the novel spectacle, but he ascended where stood the tent of the envoy Q. Ogulnius and in perfect calm wound himself into a circle of many coils. The envoys, as though with their mission accomplished, gave thanks and that done, after receiving instruction in the cult of the snake from those qualified, joyously weighed anchor from that place. A fair voyage brought them to Antium. The snake, which had remained on board throughout, now glided forth and wound himself around a lofty palm tree that towered over many-branching myrtle in the vestibule of Aesculapius' temple. For three days he availed himself of the hospitality of the temple at Antium, food such as he was accustomed to eat being placed before him, not without much concern on the part of the envoys lest he be unwilling to return to the trireme. But he gave himself back for transport to our city and, after the envoys had disembarked on Tiber bank, he swam over to the island on which his temple was dedicated and by his arrival dissipated the plague which he had been sought to remedy.[4]

No less voluntary was Juno's migration to our city.[5] When Veii was taken by Furius Camillus, the soldiers at their commander's orders tried to move from its base the image of Juno Moneta,[6] an object of special veneration there, intending to transfer it to Rome. On one of them asking her in jest whether she wished to move to Rome, the goddess replied that she did. At the hearing of this utterance the joke turned to wonder, and now, believing that they carried not an image but Juno herself sought from

dentes, laeti in ea parte montis Aventini in qua nunc templum eius cernimus collocaverunt.

4 Fortunae etiam Muliebris simulacrum, quod est Latina via ad quartum miliarium, eo tempore cum aede sua consecratum quo Coriolanum ab excidio urbis maternae preces reppulerunt, non semel sed bis locutum constitit priscis[107] his verbis: 'rite me, matronae, dedistis[108] riteque dicastis.'[109]

5 Valerio autem Publicola consule, qui post exactos reges bellum cum Veientibus et Etruscis gessit, illis Tarquinio pristinum imperium restituere, Romanis nuper partam libertatem retinere cupientibus, Etruscis et Tarquinio in cornu dextro proelio superioribus tantus terror subito incessit ut non solum victores ipsi profugerent sed etiam pavoris sui consortes secum Veientes traherent. cuius rei pro argumento miraculum adicitur: ingens repente vox e proxima silva Arsia, quae ore Silvani in hunc paene modum missa traditur: 'uno plus e Tuscis[110] cadent, Romanus exercitus victor abibit.' miram dicti fidem digesta numero cadavera exhibuere.

6 Quid? Martis auxilium quo victoriam Romanorum adiuvit nonne memoria celebrandum est? cum Bruttii atque Lucani odio incitatissimo maximisque viribus Thurinae urbis peterent excidium[111] ac praecipuo studio inco-

[107] priscis *Halm*: prius* AL [108] dedistis P, *Nepot.*: vidis- AL: vovis- *Aldus* [109] dicastis P: dedicatis AL: -astis ς

[110] etuscis (*sic*) P: Erusci AL: Etr- G

[111] excidium P: exitum AL: -tium L *corr.*

---

7 488: Livy 2.40.12, Dion. Hal. 8.56.2–4 etc. Cf. VM 5.2.1a, 4.1.

heaven, they joyfully placed her in that part of the Aventine mount where we now see her temple.

Also the image of Female Fortune, which stands at the fourth milestone on the Latin Way and was consecrated along with her temple at the time when his mother's prayers turned Coriolanus back from destroying the city,[7] was believed to have first spoken not once but twice these ancient words: "Rightly, matrons, have you given me and rightly dedicated."

When Valerius Publicola was Consul,[8] he who after the expulsion of the kings waged war with the Veientes and Etruscans, they desiring to restore his former authority to Tarquin while the Romans wanted to keep their newly won liberty, the Etruscans and Tarquin on the right wing had the upper hand in the battle; but suddenly such dire fear fell upon them that not only did they themselves, the victors, take to flight but they also dragged the Veientes along with them as partners in panic. As a reason for what happened a wonder is related, a sudden tremendous voice from the nearby forest of Arsia. It is said to have come from the mouth of Silvanus much as follows: "More by one of the Tuscans shall fall, the Roman army shall come off victorious." When the corpses were counted, they showed the truth of the utterance to a marvel.[9]

And does not the help of Mars, by which he aided a Roman victory, deserve to be celebrated in memory? The Bruttians and Lucanians with the liveliest hatred and very large forces were seeking to destroy the city of Thurii,

[8] 509, replacing L. Tarquinius Collatinus as colleague of L. Junius Brutus, the first Consul.

[9] Livy 2.7.1–3, Dion. Hal. 5.16, Plut. *Publ.* 9.

lumitatem C. Fabricius Luscinus consul protegeret, resque ancipiti eventu collatis unum in locum utriusque partis copiis gereretur non audentibus Romanis proelium ingredi, eximiae magnitudinis iuvenis primum eos hortari ad capessendam fortitudinem coepit; deinde, ubi eos tardiores animadvertit, arreptis scalis per mediam hostium aciem ad contraria castra evasit et admotis vallum conscendit. inde, voce ingenti clamitans factum victoriae gradum, et nostros ad aliena castra capienda et Lucanos Bruttiosque ad sua defendenda illuc traxit ubi conferti dubio certamine terebantur. sed idem impulsu armorum suorum prostratos hostes iugulandos capiendosque Romanis tradidit: viginti enim milia caesa, quinque cum Statio Statilio duce utriusque gentis et tribus atque viginti militaribus signis capta sunt. postero die cum consul, inter honorandos quorum strenua opera fuerat usus, vallarem coronam ei se servare dixisset a quo castra erant oppressa, nec inveniretur qui id praemium peteret, cognitum pariter atque creditum est Martem patrem tunc populo suo adfuisse. inter cetera huiusce rei manifesta indicia galea quoque duabus distincta pinnis, qua caeleste caput tectum fuerat, argumentum praebuit. itaque Fabricii edicto supplicatio Marti est habita et a laureatis militibus magna cum animorum laetitia oblati auxilii testimonium ei est redditum.

7 Referam nunc quod suo saeculo cognitum manavit ad posteros, penetrales deos Aeneam Troia advectos Lavinii

---

[10] 282: Amm. Marc. 24.4.24.

while Consul C. Fabricius Luscinus was protecting its survival with particular zeal. The forces on both sides were gathered in one place and the struggle was waged with doubtful issue, the Romans not daring to join battle. But a young man of exceptional stature began first to urge them to take courage and then, when he saw they were hesitant, snatching up a ladder made his way through the midst of the enemy ranks to the opposing camp, set up the ladder, and climbed the rampart. Then, shouting in a voice of thunder that a step had been taken to victory, he brought our men to the place for the capture of the hostile camp and the Lucanians and Bruttians for the defence of their own. There massed, they were wearing each other out in doubtful conflict when the same figure by the force of his arms laid the enemy low and gave them to the Romans to be slaughtered or taken prisoner; for twenty thousand were slain and five thousand taken with Statius Statilius, the commander of both nations, and twenty-three military standards. The following day, in honouring those whose yeoman service he had used, the Consul announced that he was keeping a storming crown for the man by whom the camp had been taken. But nobody was found to claim the reward, and it was discovered and likewise believed that Father Mars had come to his people's aid at that time. Among other clear indications thereof a helmet decked with two feathers, with which the divine head had been covered, furnished evidence. So by Fabricius' proclamation a thanksgiving to Mars was held and witness borne to his help by the laurelled soldiers with great joy.[10]

I shall now relate something that, known in its own time, has passed down to posterity, namely that Aeneas settled the tutelary gods he brought from Troy at Lavin-

collocasse: inde ab Ascanio filio eius Albam, quam ipse condiderat, translatos pristinum sacrarium repetisse, et quia id humana manu factum existimari poterat, relatos Albam voluntatem suam altero transitu significasse.

Nec me praeterit de motu et voce deorum immortalium humanis oculis auribusque percepto quam in ancipiti opinione aestimatio versetur, sed quia non nova dicuntur, sed tradita repetuntur, fidem auctores vindicent: nostrum sit inclitis litterarum monumentis consecrata perinde ac vana non refugisse.

8 Facta mentione urbis e qua primordia civitas nostra traxit, divus Iulius, fausta proles eius, se nobis offert. quem C. Cassius, numquam sine praefatione publici parricidii nominandus, cum ‹in›[112] acie Philippensi ardentissimo animo perstaret, vidit humano habitu augustiorem, purpureo paludamento amictum, minaci vultu et concitato equo in se impetum facientem. quo aspectu perterritus tergum hosti dedit, voce illa prius emissa: 'quid enim amplius agas,[113] si occidisse parum est?' non occideras tu quidem, Cassi, Caesarem, neque enim ulla exstingui divinitas potest, sed mortali adhuc corpore utentem violando meruisti ut tam infestum haberes deum.

9 Iam quod L. Lentulus litus praenavigans in quo Cn. Pompeii Magni perfidia Ptolomaei regis interempti corpus concisae scaphae lignis comburebatur, ignarus casus eius,

[112] *add.* P [113] agas LG: agam P

---

[11] Dion. Hal. 1.67, Orig. gent. Rom. 17.2 [12] The Julii came from Alba Longa and were supposed to descend from Aeneas and Venus. [13] Story not found elsewhere.

[14] L. Cornelius Lentulus Crus, Consul in 49.

ium, and that after being transferred by his son Ascanius to Alba, his own foundation, they returned to their former sanctuary; then, because that might have been thought to be the work of human hands, they were brought back to Alba and signified their will by a second migration.[11]

Nor am I unaware how doubtful a view may be taken of any judgment concerning the motions or utterances of immortal gods perceived by human eyes and ears. But since I am saying nothing new but recalling things handed down, let the originators prove their credibility and let it be my part not to shy away from items consecrated by famous literary memorials as though they were mere fiction.

After mention of the city from which our community drew its origin, her auspicious offspring[12] the divine Julius presents himself before us. C. Cassius, never to be named without prefix of public parricide, was standing firm and full of ardour at the battle of Philippi when he saw Caesar, majestic beyond human aspect, robed in a purple commander's cloak, charging at him with threatening countenance and horse at the gallop. Terrified at the apparition, Cassius turned in flight from his enemy, first uttering these words: "What more is a man to do if killing be not enough?" No, Cassius, you had not killed Caesar, for no divinity can be extinguished; but by violating him while he was still in his mortal body you deserved to have the god thus hostile.[13]

When L. Lentulus[14] was sailing past the shore on which the body of Cn. Pompeius Magnus, slain by the treachery of king Ptolemy, was being burned with the wood of a boat cut up for the purpose, he saw the pyre for which For-

cum ipsi Fortunae erubescendum rogum vidisset, commilitonibus dixit 'qui scimus an hac flamma Cn. Pompeius cremetur?' divinitus missae vocis miraculum est.

10 Atque hoc quidem hominis et casu, illud tantum non ore ipsius Apollinis editum, quo Appii interitum veridica Pythicae vaticinationis fides praecucurrit. is bello civili, quo se Cn. Pompeius a Caesaris concordia pestifero sibi nec rei publicae utili consilio abruperat, eventum gravissimi motus explorare cupiens, viribus imperii—namque Achaiae praeerat—antistitem Delphicae cortinae in intimam sacri specus partem descendere coegit, unde ut certae consulentibus sortes petuntur, ita nimius divini spiritus haustus reddentibus pestifer exsistit. igitur impulsu capti numinis instincta virgo horrendo sono vocis Appio inter obscuras verborum ambages fata cecinit: 'nihil' enim inquit 'ad te hoc, Romane, bellum: Euboeae Coela obtinebis.' at is ratus consiliis se Apollinis moneri ne illi discrimini interesset, in eam regionem secessit quae inter Rhamnunta, nobilem Attici soli partem, Carystumque Chalcidico freto vicinam interiacens Coelae Euboeae nomen obtinet, ubi ante Pharsalicum certamen morbo consumptus praedictum a deo locum sepultura possedit.

11 Possunt et illa miraculorum loco ‹poni›,[114] quod deus-

[114] *add.* ς

---

[15] 48: Plut. *Pomp.* 80.

[16] Ap. Claudius Pulcher, Consul in 54, died in 48. Lucan, 5.120–236, and Orosius, 6.15.11, have the story.

[17] Similarly Strabo 445, who explains the name from the configuration of the Euboean coast. But ancient authorities vary as to the locality; see *RE* XI.1048f.

tune herself should have blushed and, though unaware of Pompey's fate, spoke thus to his comrades in arms: "How do we know whether Cn. Pompeius is not being cremated in this fire?" The utterance was divinely inspired, a wonder.[15]

That was of man and by chance, but the following all but comes from the mouth of Apollo himself, in which the truth-telling oracle of the Pythia's prophecy anticipated Appius' death. In the civil war whereby Cn. Pompeius had torn himself from amity with Caesar in a policy disastrous to him and not advantageous to the commonwealth Appius[16] wished to explore the outcome of the mighty upheaval and by dint of his authority (he was governor of Achaea) compelled the priestess of the Delphic cauldron to descend into the innermost recess of the sacred cavern, from which sure predictions are sought for those who ask but at the same time too strong an intake of the divine breath is fatal to the mediums. So the virgin, urged by the impulse of the captive divinity, sang in direful tones the fate of Appius wrapped in obscure and ambiguous words: "This war, Roman," she said, "is naught to you. Yours shall be the hollows of Euboea." Thinking himself warned by Apollo's counsel not to take part in the crisis, he withdrew to a district lying between Rhamnus, a famous part of Attic territory, and Carystus on the strait of Chalcis, called "Hollow Euboea."[17] There before the battle of Pharsalia he died of a disease and possessed with his tomb[18] the place predicted by the god.

Here are some other happenings that may be regarded

[18] Perhaps adumbrated in the word Coela (*κοίλη κάπετος* = hollow grave).

to sacrario Saliorum nihil in eo praeter lituum Romuli integrum repertum est; quod Servii Tullii statua, ‹cum aedis Fortunae conflagrasset, inviolata mansit; quod Quintae Claudiae statua›[115] in vestibulo templi Matris deum posita bis ea aede incendio consumpta, prius P. Nasica Scipione et L. Bestia, ite‹ru›m[116] M. Servilio et L. Lamia consulibus, in sua basi flammis intacta stetit.

12a Aliquid admirationis civitati nostrae Acilii etiam Aviolae rogus attulit, qui et a medicis et a domesticis mortuus creditus, cum aliquamdiu domi[117] iacuisset, elatus, postquam corpus eius ignis corripuit, vivere se proclamavit auxiliumque paedagogi sui—nam is solus ibi remanserat—invocavit, sed iam flammis circumdatus fato subtrahi non potuit.

12b L. quoque Lamiae, praetorio viro, aeque vocem fuisse super rogum constitit.

ext. 1 Quae minus admirabilia fore Eris[118] Pamphylii casus facit, quem Plato scribit inter eos qui in acie ceciderant decem diebus iacuisse, biduoque post quam inde sublatus esset impositum rogo revixisse ac mira quaedam tempore mortis visa narrasse.

[115] cum ... statua *add.* A *corr.*, P (*om.* quod Q(uintae))
[116] *add. Halm* [117] domi *Eberhard*: humi AL
[118] fore Eris *SB*: pheretris* AL: Eris *Gertz*

---

[19] 389: Cic. *Div.* 1.30 etc.

[20] 213: Livy 24.47.15, Ov. *Fast.* 6.625f., Dion Hal. 4.40.7.

[21] 111 B.C. and A.D. 3. For Quinta Claudia see Livy 29.14.12, Ov. *Fast.* 4.305–348, Tac. *Ann.* 4.64.4 etc. [22] Pliny *N.H.* 7.173, where the victim is called *Aviola consularis*. The family

as miraculous. When the shrine of the Salii was burned, nothing was found in it intact except the augural staff of Romulus.[19] The statue of Servius Tullius remained undamaged when the temple of Fortune was destroyed by fire.[20] The statue of Quinta Claudia in the vestibule of the temple of the Mother of the Gods stood on its pedestal untouched by the flames when that shrine was twice burned down, once in the Consulship of P. Nasica Scipio and L. Bestia, again in that of M. Servilius and L. Lamia.[21]

The pyre of Acilius Aviola also gave our community cause to marvel. Believed dead by his doctors and servants, he lay in his house for some time. Borne out for burial, after the fire caught his body he cried out that he was alive and called for help from his tutor, who alone had remained on the spot. But he was already surrounded by the flames and could not be rescued from his fate.[22]

It was accepted that L. Lamia,[23] a man of praetorian rank, had likewise called out on top of his pyre.

EXTERNAL

What happened to Er of Pamphylia will make the above less wonderful. Plato writes that for ten days he lay among the fallen in battle. On the day after he had been taken thence, placed on a pyre he came back to life and recounted certain marvels seen while he was dead.[24]

came into prominence under the Empire. Mention of the *paedagogus,* however, rather suggests a boy or very young man, perhaps adopted son of the M. Acilius who was Consul Suffect in 33 (cf. R. Syme, *The Augustan Aristocracy*, 378).

[23] Also follows in Pliny. He was Praetor in 43 or 42 and a good friend of Cicero.

[24] Plato *Rep.* 10.614b, Cic. *Rep.* 6.3.

ext. 2 Et quoniam ad externa transgressi sumus, quidam Athenis vir eruditissimus, cum ictum lapidis capite excepisset, cetera omnia tenacissima memoria retinens litterarum tantummodo, quibus praecipue inservierat, oblitus est. dirum malignumque vulnus in animo percussi quasi de industria scrutatis sensibus, in eum potissimum quo maxime laetabatur [et][119] acerbitate nocendi erupit, singularem doctrinam hominis pleno invidiae funere efferendo. cui si talibus studiis perfrui fas non erat, utilius aliquanto fuit ad illa aditum non impetrasse quam iam percepta eorum dulcedine caruisse.

ext. 3 Miserabilior tamen sequentis casus narratio: Nausimenis enim Atheniensis uxor, cum filii ac filiae suae stupro intervenisset, inopinati monstri perculsa conspectu et in praesens tempus ad indignandum et in posterum ad loquendum obmutuit. illi nefarium concubitum voluntaria morte pensarunt.

ext. 4 Hoc modo Fortuna saeviens vocem ademit, illo propitia dona‹vi›t:[120] Echecles Samius, athleta mutus, cum ei victoriae quam adeptus erat titulus et praemium eriperetur, indignatione accensus vocalis evasit.

ext. 5 Gorgiae quoque Epirotae, fortis et clari viri, origo admirabilis ‹fuit›,[121] quod in funere matris suae utero elapsus inopinato vagitu suo lectum ferentes consistere coegit

[119] et* *del.* A *corr.* [120] *add. Kempf* [121] *add.* P

---

[25] Pliny *N.H.* 7.90 (a bare allusion). *Invidia* is indignation against gods or fate as authors of a calamity (misunderstood in Wardle as "a funeral caused by envy").

[26] Not found elsewhere.

And since we have passed to external items, a very learned man in Athens was hit in the head by a stone. He kept all else alive in a very retentive memory, forgetting only letters, to which he had been specially devoted. The dire, malignant wound, as though deliberately scrutinizing the perceptions of the stricken man's mind, erupted in vicious hurtfulness against that one in which he most delighted, burying his exceptional erudition in a funeral replete with indignation.[25] If he was not fated to full enjoyment of such pursuits, it would have been better for him never to have gained access to them rather than to lack their pleasure already tasted.

More pitiful, however, is the narrative of the next happening.[26] The wife of Nausimenes, an Athenian, caught her son and daughter lying together. Stricken by the sight of so unlooked-for a prodigy, she lost her voice, both for protest in the present and for speech in the future. *They* expiated their wicked union by voluntary death.

Thus did angry Fortune take a voice away, and thus propitious did she vouchsafe one: Echecles of Samos, an athlete, was dumb; but being robbed of the title and prize of a victory he had won, fired with indignation he found his voice.[27]

Wondrous too was the beginning of Gorgias of Epirus, a brave man and famous.[28] At his mother's burial he slipped out of her womb and by his unexpected wailing caused the bearers to halt, providing his country with

[27] Gellius 5.9.6 has a different version. Cf. VM 5.4.ext.6.

[28] Combès remarks that his fame, unlike that of his namesake the sophist, has not endured.

novumque spectaculum patriae praebuit, tantum non ex ipso genetricis rogo lucem et cunas adsecutus: eodem enim momento temporis altera iam fato functa peperit, alter ante elatus quam natus est.

ext. 6 Divinae Fortunae vulnus Pheraeo Iasoni exitii eius cupidus intulit: nam cum inter insidias gladio eum percussisset, vomicam, quae a nullo medicorum sanari potuerat, ita rupit ut hominem pestifero malo liberaret.

ext. 7 Aeque dis immortalibus acceptus Simonides, cuius salus ab imminenti naufragio[122] defensa ruinae quoque subtracta est: cenanti enim apud Scopam Crannone, quod est in Thessalia oppidum, nuntiatum est duos iuvenes ad ianuam venisse magnopere rogantes ut ad eos continuo prodiret. ad quos egressus neminem repperit ibi. ceterum eo momento temporis triclinium in quo Scopas epulabatur collapsum et ipsum et omnes convivas oppressit. quid hac felicitate locupletius, quam nec mare nec terra saeviens exstinguere valuit?

ext. 8 Non invitus huic subnecto Daphnitem, ne quis ignoret quantum interfuerit cecinisse deorum laudes et numen obtrectasse. hic, cum eius studii esset cuius professores sophistae vocantur, ineptae et mordacis opinationis, Apollinem Delphis irridendi causa consuluit an equum invenire posset, cum omnino nullum habuisset. cuius ex oracu-

[122] naufragio ς: officio* AL

---

[29] Ruler of Thessaly, died in 370 (cf. VM 9.10.ext.2). For the story cf. Cic. *Nat. deor.* 3.70, Pliny *N.H.* 7.166, also Plut. *Moral.* 89E, where the beneficiary is Prometheus of Thessaly (*RE* XXIII.1287) instead of Jason. As a comparatively obscure figure he is likely to have been the original.

a novel spectacle, attaining daylight and cradle almost from his mother's very pyre. At the same moment *she* gave birth when already dead and *he* was borne out for burial before he was born.

An enemy wishing to destroy him dealt Jason of Pherae[29] a divinely fortunate wound. Striking him treacherously with a sword, he lanced a boil that none of the doctors had been able to cure, thus freeing him from a deadly malady.

No less favoured by the immortal gods was Simonides, whose life, protected from imminent shipwreck,[30] was also saved from a falling building.[31] As he was dining with Scopas in Crannon, a town in Thessaly, he was informed that two young men were at the door urgently requesting him to come out to meet them at once. When he did so, he found nobody there. But at that moment the dining room in which Scopas was banqueting collapsed, crushing him and all his guests. What could be richer than good fortune that neither sea nor land could extinguish in their rage?

Nothing loath I attach Daphnites[32] to the above, that none be ignorant how much better it was to have sung the praises of the gods than to have belittled their divinity. A follower of that pursuit whose professors are called sophists, an idle and mordacious notion-mongering, he consulted Apollo at Delphi in mockery, enquiring whether he could find his horse, when in fact he possessed no such ani-

30 Cf. VM 1.7.ext.3.

31 Cic. *De orat.* 2.352f. etc.

32 Cic. *De fato* 5, Strabo 647 (a different version). Attalus I of Pergamus reigned 241–197.

lo reddita vox est inventurum equum, sed ut eo proturbatus periret. inde cum iocabundus quasi delusa sacrarum sortium fide reverteretur, incidit in regem Attalum saepenumero a se contumeliosis dictis absentem lacessitum, eiusque iussu saxo, cui nomen erat Equi, praecipitatus ad deos usque cavillandos dementis animi iusta supplicia pependit.

ext. 9 Eodem oraculo Macedonum rex Philippus admonitus ut a quadrigae violentia salutem suam custodiret, toto regno disiungi currus iussit eumque locum qui in Boeotia Quadriga vocatur semper vitavit. nec tamen denuntiatum periculi genus effugit: nam Pausanias in capulo gladii quo eum occidit quadrigam habuit caelatam.

ext. 10 Quae tam pertinax necessitas in patre ‹in›[123] filio Alexandro consimilis apparuit, si quidem Callanus Indus sua sponte se ardenti rogo superiecturus, interpellatus ab eo ecquid aut mandaret aut dicere vellet, 'brevi te' inquit 'videbo': nec id sine causa, quia voluntarium eius e vita excessum rapida mors Alexandri subsecuta est.

ext. 11 Regios interitus magnitudine miraculi remigis casus aequat, quem in hexere Tyriorum sentinam haurientem cum è navi fluctus abiecisset, altero latere repercussum contrarius fluctus in navem rettulit. itaque miseri simul ac felicis complorationi permixta fuit gratulatio.

[123] *add. Watt*[3]

---

[33] Equus = Ἵππος.

[34] Cic. *De fato* 5, Aelian *Var. hist.* 3.45, who gives the oracle as that of Trophonius in Boeotia. Philip was assassinated in 336.

[35] Ἅρμα. The location is unknown.

[36] Cic. *Div.* 1.47 etc.

mal. From Apollo's oracle came the response that he would find the horse but that it would throw him to his death. As he returned thence in jesting mood, as having cheated the good faith of holy prophecy, he fell in with king Attalus, whom he had often provoked in absence with insulting witticisms. At the king's orders he was hurled from a crag named Horse's,[33] thus paying a just penalty for his mad spirit that did not stop at making mock of the gods.

By the same oracle[34] Philip king of Macedon was warned to guard his life from the violence of a four-horse chariot. So he gave orders that all chariots in his realm be unyoked and he always avoided that place in Boeotia which is called Chariot.[35] Yet he did not escape the kind of peril foretold. For Pausanias had a chariot engraved on the hilt of the sword with which he killed the king.

Such obstinate fatality in the father's case made a similar showing in the son's, Alexander's. For when Callanus the Indian was about to throw himself voluntarily on a burning pyre, Alexander asked him whether he had any commission, anything he wanted to say. "I shall see you anon," was the answer. And sure enough Alexander's swift death followed hard upon Callanus' voluntary departure from life.[36]

The fate of a rower equals in magnitude of wonder the deaths of kings. He was bailing out the bilge in a Tyrian hexeris when a wave swept him off the ship; but a contrary wave catching him from the other side carried him back on board. Thus for this unlucky and lucky being felicitation mingled with condolence.[37]

[37] Not found elsewhere.

ext. 12 Quid? illa nonne ludibria Naturae in corporibus humanis fuisse credenda sunt, tolerabilia quidem, quia saevitia caruerunt, ceterum et ipsa miraculis adnumeranda? nam et Prusiae regis Bithyniae filius eodem nomine quo pater pro superiore ordine dentium unum os aequaliter extentum habuit, nec ad speciem deforme neque ad usum ulla ex parte incommodum.

ext. 13 Mithridatis vero regis filia Drypetine, Laodice regina nata, duplici ordine dentium deformis admodum comes fugae patris a Pompeio devicti fuit.

ext. 14 Ne illius quidem parvae admirationis oculi quem constat tam certa acie luminum usum esse ut a Lilybaeo portu Carthaginiensium egredientes classes intueretur.

ext. 15 Oculis eius admirabilius Aristomenis Messenii cor, quod Athenienses ob eximiam calliditatem exsectum pilis refertum invenerunt, cum eum aliquotiens captum et astutia elapsum cepissent.

ext. 16 Et poeta Antipater Sidonius omnibus annis uno tantummodo die, quo genitus erat, febri implicabatur, cumque ad ultimam aetatem pervenisset, natali suo certo illo circuitu morbi consumptus est.

ext. 17 Hoc loco apte referuntur Polystratus et Hippoclides philosophi, eodem die nati, eiusdem praeceptoris Epicuri

---

38 He was the second son of Prusias II (reigned *ca.* 182–149) and called Monodous ("One-tooth"): Livy *Per.* 50 etc.

39 66: cf. Amm. Marc. 16.7.10.

40 Pliny *N.H.* 7.85 citing Varro, who gave the man's name as Strabo ("squinter"). The feat is of course impossible.

41 Pliny *N.H.* 11.185. The heart was supposed to be the seat of intelligence. "Athenians" is a mistake for "Lacedaemonians."

And should we not take the following for Nature's jests in human bodies? We can bear them, since there is no cruelty in them, but they too are to be numbered among wonders. The son of Prusias king of Bithynia,[38] whose name was the same as his father's, instead of an upper row of teeth had a single bone evenly extended. It was not unsightly nor in any way inconvenient to use.

The daughter of king Mithridates, Drypetine, child of queen Laodice, had a double row of teeth, very ugly. She accompanied her father's flight after his defeat by Pompey.[39]

Deserving too of no small wonder are the eyes of a person who is known to have had such keen and sure vision that from Lilybaeum he saw fleets leaving Carthage harbour.[40]

More wonderful than *his* eyes is the heart of Aristomenes of Messene. Because of his extraordinary craftiness the Athenians cut it out and found it full of hair, having captured him after he had escaped by cunning from several earlier captivities.[41]

The poet Antipater of Sidon fell sick of a fever every year for one day only, the day of his birth. And having reached extreme old age, he died on his birthday of the disease as it came round in its regular course.[42]

At this point it is appropriate to recall the philosophers Polystratus and Hippoclides.[43] They were born on the same day and followed the system of the same teacher

[42] Cic. *De fato* 5, Pliny *N.H.* 7.172. The epigrammatist Antipater of Sidon wrote in the second century. [43] The former succeeded Hermarchus, Epicurus' successor as head of his school (Diog. Laert. 10.25). Hippoclides is otherwise unknown.

sectam secuti, patrimonii etiam possidendi habendaeque scholae communione coniuncti, eodemque momento temporis ultima senectute exstincti. tam[124] aequalem fortunae pariter atque amicitiae societatem quis non ipsius caelestis Concordiae sinu genitam nutritam [et][125] finitam putet?

ext. 18 Quapropter haec potissimum aut in liberis potentissimorum regum aut in duce[126] clarissimo aut in vate ingenii florentis aut in viris eruditissimis aut in homine sortis ignotae ‹luserit›,[127] ne ipsa quidem, omnis bonae malaeque materiae fecunda artifex, rationem Rerum Natura reddiderit; non magis quam quid ita silvestres capreas Cretae genitas tantopere dilexerit, quas sagittis confixas ad salutare auxilium herbae dictamni tantum non suis manibus deducit, efficit ut comesta[128] ea continuo et tela et vim veneni vulneribus respuant; aut in Cephal‹l›ania insula, cum omnia ubique pecora haustu aquae cotidie recreentur, capras maiore parte anni ore aperto ex alto ventos recipientes sitim suam sedare instituerit; aut quapropter Crotone in templo Iunonis Laciniae aram ad omnes ventos immobili cinere donaverit; potissimumve quare alteram in Macedonia, alteram in Caleno agro aquam proprietatem vini, qua homines inebrientur, possidere voluerit. non admiratione ista, sed memoria prosequi debemus, cum sciamus recte ab ea plurimum licentiae vindicari penes quam infinitus cuncta gignendi labor consistit.

[124] tam A *corr.*, G: tantam AL; Br [125] *del. Eberhard*
[126] duce *SB*[1]: rege AL [127] *add. SB*[1]
[128] comesta *Gertz*: concepta AL

Epicurus. They also shared property and held school jointly, and in extreme old age died in the same moment of time. Who but would think that such equal association in fortune and friendship was born, fostered, and terminated in the bosom of celestial Concord herself?

Why Nature played these particular tricks on the children of powerful kings or an illustrious leader or a notably talented poet or men of great learning or a man of obscure estate, not even she herself, fertile artificer of all substance good and bad, could explain. No more than why she so dearly loved the wild goats born in Crete, whom when shot by arrows she almost leads with her own hands to the healing aid of the herb dittany and brings to pass that after eating it they immediately reject the darts and the power of the poison from their wounds.[44] Or why, while all other animals everywhere are refreshed by a daily drink of water, in the island of Cephallania she has made the goats slake their thirst for most of the year by taking in winds from the sky with open mouth.[45] Or why at Croton in the temple of Juno Lacinia she bestowed an altar with ashes that no wind can stir.[46] Or especially why she wished a water in Macedonia and another in the district of Cales to possess the property of wine whereby men are made drunk.[47] We should not wonder at these things but record them, since we know that much licence is rightly claimed by her with whom rests the infinite task of engendering all things.

44 Cic. *Nat. deor.* 2.126 etc.
45 Aelian *Hist. Anim.* 3.12.
46 Livy 24.3.7, Pliny *N.H.* 2.240.
47 Ov. *Met.* 15.329–331, Pliny *N.H.* 2.230.

ext. 19 Quae quia supra usitatam rationem excedentia attigimus, serpentis quoque a T. Livio curiose pariter ac facunde relatae fiat mentio: is enim ait in Africa apud Bagradam flumen tantae magnitudinis ‹anguem›[129] fuisse ut Atilii Reguli exercitum usu amnis prohiberet, multisque militibus ingenti ore correptis, compluribus caudae voluminibus elisis, cum telorum iactu perforari nequiret, ad ultimum ballistarum tormentis undique petitam silicum crebris et ponderosis verberibus procubuisse, omnibusque et cohortibus et legionibus ipsa Carthagine visam terribiliorem, atque etiam cruore suo gurgitibus imbutis corporisque iacentis pestifero adflatu vicina regione polluta Romana inde summovisse castra. ‹a›dicit[130] beluae corium centum et viginti pedum in urbem missum.

[129] *add.* ς; Br
[130] *add. Foertsch*

Since we have touched upon these items transcending normal reason, let mention be made of a snake recorded with no less particularity than eloquence by T. Livius.[48] He says that in Africa at the river Bagrada there was a snake of such great size that it forbade the use of the river to the army of Atilius Regulus. Many a soldier was seized by its vast mouth, a number were crushed by the coils of its tail. When it could not be pierced by the casting of spears, it was finally attacked from all sides with catapult machines and fell forward from the frequent weighty blows of stones. All the cohorts and legions feared the sight of it more than Carthage itself and moved the Roman camp away, because the neighbouring district was polluted by the waters infected with the creature's blood and the pestilential vapour from its prostrate body. He adds that the skin of the beast measuring one hundred and twenty feet was sent to Rome.

[48] Livy *Per.* 18 etc. The date of the incident is 266.

LIBER SECUNDUS

praef. Dives et praepotens Naturae regnum scrutatus, iniciam stilum qua nostrae urbis qua ceterarum gentium priscis ac memorabilibus institutis: opus est enim cognosci huiusce vitae, quam sub optimo principe felicem agimus, quaenam fuerint elementa, ut eorum quoque respectus aliquid praesentibus moribus prosit.

1. DE INSTITUTIS ANTIQUIS

1 Apud antiquos non solum publice sed etiam privatim nihil gerebatur nisi auspicio prius sumpto. quo ex more nuptiis etiam nunc auspices interponuntur, qui quamvis auspicia petere desierint, ipso tamen nomine veteris consuetudinis vestigia usurpantur.

2 Feminae cum viris cubantibus sedentes cenitabant. quae consuetudo ex hominum convictu ad divina penetravit: nam Iovis epulo ipse in lectulum, Iuno et Minerva in sellas ad cenam invitabantur. quod genus severitatis aetas nostra diligentius in Capitolio quam in suis domibus conservat, videlicet quia magis ad rem ‹p.›[1] pertinet dea-

[1] *add. Damsté*

---

[1] Cic. *Div.* 1.28.

BOOK II

Having scrutinized the rich and powerful kingdom of Nature, I shall try my pen on ancient and memorable institutions both of our city and of foreign nations. For it behooves us to learn what were the origins of the happy life we lead under our best of leaders, so that a backward look at them may yield some profit to modern manners.

1. OF ANCIENT INSTITUTIONS

Among the men of old nothing was done either publicly or even privately without prior taking of auspices. From that usage even in our time takers of auspices are given a place at weddings. Although they no longer seek auspices, by the name itself they preserve in use a trace of the old custom.[1]

Women used to dine seated with their reclining menfolk,[2] a custom which made its way from the social gatherings of men to things divine. For at the banquet of Jupiter he himself was invited to dine on a couch, while Juno and Minerva had chairs, a form of austerity which our age is more careful to retain on the Capitol than in its houses, no doubt because it is more important to the common-

[2] Varro *De vit. pop. Rom.* Fr. 30 Riposati; cf. Serv. *Aen.* 7.176.

rum quam mulierum disciplinam contineri.

3 Quae uno contentae matrimonio fuerant corona pudicitiae honorabantur: existimabant enim eum praecipue matronae sincera fide incorruptum esse animum qui depositae virginitatis cubile [in publicum][2] egredi nesciret, multorum matrimoniorum experientiam quasi legitimae cuiusdam intemperantiae signum esse credentes.

4 Repudium inter uxorem et virum a condita urbe usque ad vicesimum et quingentesimum[3] annum nullum intercessit. primus autem Sp. Carvilius uxorem sterilitatis causa dimisit. qui, quamquam tolerabili ratione motus videbatur, reprehensione tamen non caruit, quia ne cupiditatem quidem liberorum coniugali fidei praeponi debuisse arbitrabantur.

5a Sed quo matronale decus verecundiae munimento tutius esset, in ius vocanti matronam corpus eius attingere non permiserunt, ut inviolata manus alienae tactu stola relinqueretur.

5b Vini usus olim Romanis feminis ignotus fuit, ne scilicet in aliquod dedecus prolaberentur, quia proximus a Libero patre intemperantiae gradus ad inconcessam venerem esse consuevit. ceterum ut non tristis earum et horrida pudicitia sed [et][4] honesto comitatis genere temperata

[2] *del. Kempf* [3] *sic Aldus:* centes- et quinquages- * AL
[4] *om.* ς

---

[3] A rare touch of humour.

[4] Cf. Shackleton Bailey, *Propertiana* (Cambridge, 1956), 265.

[5] Dion. Hal. 2.25.7, Plut. *Moral.* 267B-C etc. Gellius 4.3.2 cites Ser. Sulpicius (Consul in 51) for the information. Sources give the date with slight variations as 231.

wealth that discipline be maintained for goddesses than for women.[3]

Women who had been content with a single marriage used to be honoured with a crown of chastity. For they thought that the mind of a married woman was particularly loyal and uncorrupted if it knew not how to leave the bed on which she had surrendered her virginity, believing that trial of many marriages was as it were the sign of a legalized incontinence.[4]

From the founding of the city down to its five hundred and twentieth year there was no case of divorce between man and wife. Sp. Carvilius was the first to put his wife away for cause of barrenness.[5] Although he was thought to have a tolerable reason for so doing, he did not escape criticism, because they considered that even desire for children ought not to have been placed ahead of conjugal loyalty.

So that a married lady's honour might be the safer with the protection of respect, they did not allow the person of such to be touched by one summoning her to court.[6] The matron's robe must be undefiled by the contact of an alien hand.

At one time the use of wine was unknown to Roman women,[7] no doubt for fear they might slip into some dishonour, for that after Father Liber the next step in intemperance is apt to be illicit love-making. But to the end that their chastity should not be sour and rude but tempered with a seemly sort of elegance (for with their husbands' in-

6 Not attested elsewhere.

7 Cic. *Rep.* 4.6 etc. Cf. VM 6.3.9.

esset—indulgentibus namque maritis et auro abundanti et multa purpura usae sunt—, quo formam suam concinniorem efficerent, summa cum diligentia capillos cinere rutilarunt: nulli enim tunc subsessorum alienorum matrimoniorum oculi metuebantur, sed pariter et videre sancte et aspici mutuo pudore custodiebatur.

6 Quotiens vero inter virum et uxorem aliquid iurgii intercesserat, in sacellum deae Viriplacae, quod est in Palatio, veniebant, et ibi invicem locuti quae voluerant, contentione animorum deposita, concordes revertebantur. dea nomen hoc a placandis viris fertur adsecuta, veneranda quidem et nescio an praecipuis et exquisitis sacrificiis colenda utpote cotidianae ac domesticae pacis custos, in pari iugo caritatis ipsa sui appellatione virorum maiestati debitum a feminis reddens honorem.

7 Huius modi inter coniuges verecundia: quid? inter ceteras necessitudines nonne apparet consentanea? nam ut minimo indicio maximam vim eius significem, aliquamdiu nec pater cum filio pubere nec socer cum genero lavabatur. manifestum igitur est tantum religionis sanguini et adfinitati quantum ipsis dis immortalibus tributum, quia inter ista tam sancta vincula non minus[5] quam in aliquo sacrato loco nudare se nefas esse credebatur.

8 Convivium etiam sollemne maiores instituerunt idque caristia appellaverunt, cui praeter cognatos et adfines nemo interponebatur, ut si qua inter necessarias personas

[5] minus L *corr.*: magis AL

---

[8] Only here.

[9] Down to Cicero's time (*Off.* 1.129).

dulgence they used gold in plenty and much purple), they took great pains to redden their hair with ashes by way of adding a touch of refinement to their beauty. For in those days the eyes of ambushers of other men's marriages were not feared. A mutual sense of honour guarded the seeing and the being seen in equal purity.

But whenever some strife arose between husband and wife, they would repair to the chapel of the goddess Viriplaca,[8] which is on the Palatine. There they would say in turn what they wanted to say and go back in harmony, laying aside their contention. The goddess is said to have got this name from appeasing husbands. Venerable indeed is she and to be worshipped, I think, with special, choice offerings as the guardian of day-by-day domestic peace, rendering by her very appellation the honour due from women to the dignity of husbands in the equal yoke of love.

Such respect prevailed between husband and wife. And does it not appear correspondingly in other relationships? To signify its mighty force by a trifling indication, for some long time[9] no father would take a bath with a grown-up son, no father-in-law with a son-in-law. It is manifest, therefore, that as much religious scruple was accorded to connection by blood or marriage as to the immortal gods themselves, since to strip naked amid such sacred bonds was believed to be no less a sin than to do the same in a consecrated place.

Our ancestors also instituted a regular feast[10] and called it "love-feast," in which none but kin by blood or marriage could take part, to the end that if any quarrel had

[10] Celebrated on 22 February (Ov. *Fast.* 2.617). Later others beside family could be involved (Mart. 9.55).

querella esset orta, apud sacra mensae et inter hilaritatem animorum et fautoribus concordiae adhibitis tolleretur.

9 Senectuti iuventa ita cumulatum et circumspectum honorem reddebat tamquam maiores natu adulescentium communes patres essent. quocirca iuvenes senatus die utique aliquem ex patribus conscriptis aut propinquum aut paternum amicum ad curiam deducebant, adfixique valvis exspectabant donec reducendi etiam officio fungerentur. qua quidem voluntaria statione et corpora et animos ad publica officia impigre sustinenda roborabant, brevique processurarum in lucem virtutum suarum verecunda laboris meditatione ipsi doctores erant.

Invitati ad cenam diligenter quaerebant quinam ei convivio essent interfuturi, ne senioris adventum discubitu praecurrerent, sublataque mensa priores consurgere et abire patiebantur. ex quibus apparet cenae quoque tempore quam parco et quam modesto sermone his praesentibus soliti sint uti.

10 Maiores natu in conviviis ad tibias egregia superiorum opera carmine comprehensa peragebant,[6] quo ad ea imitanda iuventutem alacriorem redderent.

Quid hoc splendidius, quid etiam utilius certamine? pubertas canis suum decus reddebat, defuncta viri<li>[7] cursu aetas ingredientes actuosam vitam favoris nutrimentis prosequebatur. quas Athenas, quam scholam, quae alienigena studia huic domesticae disciplinae praetulerim?

[6] peragebant *Gertz*: pang- AL
[7] *add. Torr.*: vitae *Vahlen*

---

[11] Cf. Ov. *Fast.* 5.57–70, Gell. 2.15.1f.
[12] Cic. *Tusc.* 1.3 and 4.3 (citing Cato's *Origines*), *De orat.* 3.197,

arisen between persons so related it might be removed amid the rites of the table and the good cheer of the partakers, with harmony-wishers in attendance.

Youth rendered to age a respect as ample and considerate as if the elders had been fathers in common to the young. So on a senate day without fail the young men would escort one of the Conscript Fathers, a kinsman or paternal friend, to the senate house, and they would wait rooted to the doors until they could perform the further service of escorting him home. By this voluntary station they fortified body and mind to support public duties without flagging and themselves by respectful practice of fatigue became teachers of their virtues, which would shortly emerge into the light of day.

When invited to dinner, they would carefully enquire who was to be present at the meal, so that they should not recline before their seniors arrived, and when it was over they allowed them to rise and leave first. Hence it is clear how sparing and modest their talk would be in their elders' presence during the dinner itself.[11]

At dinners the elders used to recite poems to the flute on the noble deeds of their forbears to make the young more eager to imitate them.[12]

What more splendid and more useful too than this contest? Youth gave appropriate honour to grey hairs, age that had travelled the course of manhood attended those entering on active life with fostering encouragement. What Athens, what school of philosophy, what alien-born studies should I prefer to this domestic discipline? Thence

Brut. 75, Varro *De vit. pop. Rom.* fr. 84 Riposati, Hor *Od.* 4.15.25–32 etc.

inde oriebantur Camilli Scipiones Fabricii Marcelli Fabii, ac ne singula imperii nostri lumina simul percurrendo sim longior, inde, inquam, caeli clarissima pars, divi fulserunt Caesares.

2

1a Adeo autem magna caritate patriae tenebantur ut arcana consilia patrum conscriptorum multis saeculis nemo senator enuntiaverit. Q. Fabius Maximus tantummodo, et is ipse per imprudentiam, de tertio Punico bello indicendo quod secreto in curia erat actum P. Crasso rus petens domum revertenti in itinere narravit, memor eum triennio ante quaestorem factum, ignarus nondum a censoribus in ordinem senatorium allectum, quo uno modo etiam iis qui iam honores gesserant aditus in curiam dabatur. sed quamvis honestus error Fabii esset, vehementer tamen a consulibus obiurgatus est: numquam enim taciturnitatem, optimum ac tutissimum administrandarum rerum vinculum, labefactari volebant.

1b Ergo, cum Asiae rex Eumenes, amantissimus nostrae urbis, bellum a Perse adversus populum Romanum comparari senatui nuntiasset, non ante sciri potuit quid aut ille locutus esset aut patres respondissent quam captum Persen cognitum est. fidum erat et altum rei publicae pectus

---

[1] Probably Servilianus, Consul in 142. The Third Punic War started in 149. The incident is not otherwise attested.

[2] P. Licinius Crassus Dives Mucianus was Quaestor in 152. There were no Censors between 153 and 147.

[3] I.e. Pergamus, which kingdom later became the Roman province of Asia.

came Camilli, Scipiones, Fabricii, Marcelli, Fabii; and lest running through the individual luminaries of our empire I take too long, thence, I say, shone heaven's brightest part, the divine Caesars.

2

So great a love of country possessed them that for many centuries no senator divulged the secret counsels of the Conscript Fathers. Only Q. Fabius Maximus,[1] and he through inadvertence, told P. Crassus[2] on the road (Crassus was returning home as Fabius was on his way to the country) what had passed secretly in the senate about declaring the Third Punic War. He remembered that Crassus had been elected Quaestor three years earlier and did not know that the Censors had not yet enrolled him in the senatorial order, that being the only way by which even those who had already held office were given access to the senate house. But although it was an honest mistake on Fabius' part, he was severely reprimanded by the Consuls. They were unwilling that silence, the best and safest cement of public administration, should ever be undermined.

Therefore when Eumenes, king of Asia[3] and a devoted friend of our city, informed the senate that Perses was preparing for war against the Roman people,[4] it could not be known what he had said or how the Fathers had answered until news of Perses' capture arrived. The senate house was the heart of the commonwealth, trusty and

[4] 172: Livy 42.14.1.

curia, silentique salubritate munitum et vallatum undique, cuius limen intrantes abiecta privata caritate publicam induebant. itaque non dicam unum sed neminem audisse crederes quod tam multorum auribus fuerat commissum.

2 Magistratus vero prisci quantopere suam[8] populique Romani maiestatem retinentes se gesserint hinc cognosci potest, quod inter cetera obtinendae gravitatis indicia illud quoque magna cum perseverantia custodiebant, ne Graecis umquam nisi Latine responsa darent. quin etiam ipsos linguae volubilitate, qua plurimum valent, excussa per interpretem loqui cogebant non in urbe tantum nostra sed etiam in Graecia et Asia, quo scilicet Latinae vocis honos per omnes gentes venerabilior diffunderetur. nec illis deerant studia doctrinae, sed nulla non in re pallium togae subici debere arbitrabantur, indignum esse existimantes illecebris et suavitati litterarum imperii pondus et auctoritatem donari.

3 Quapropter non es damnandus rustici rigoris crimine, C. Mari, quia gemina lauru coronatam senectutem tuam, Numidicis et Germanicis illustrem tropaeis, victor devictae gentis facundia politiorem fieri noluisti, credo ne alienigena ingenii exercitatione patrii ritus serus transfuga exsisteres. quis ergo huic consuetudini, qua nunc Graecis actionibus aures curiae exsurdantur, ianuam patefecit? ut opinor, Molo rhetor, qui studia M. Ciceronis acuit: eum

[8] suam A *corr.*: sui LG

---

[5] Cicero addressed the Syracusan senate in Greek, not being a magistrate at the time, and was criticized for doing so (*Verr.* 2.4.147).

deep, fortified and palisaded on all sides by wholesome silence, and as men passed its threshold they put off private affections and put patriotism on. So one might suppose that what was entrusted to so many ears was heard, I will not say by one man, but by none.

How carefully the magistrates of old regulated their conduct to keep intact the majesty of the Roman people and their own can be seen from the fact that among other indications of their duty to preserve dignity they steadfastly kept to the rule never to make replies to Greeks except in Latin. Indeed they obliged the Greeks themselves to discard the volubility which is their greatest asset and speak through an interpreter, not only in Rome but in Greece and Asia also, intending no doubt that the dignity of Latin speech be the more widely venerated throughout all nations. Not that they were deficient in attention to polite studies, but they held that in all matters whatsoever the Greek cloak should be subordinate to the Roman gown, thinking it unmeet that the weight and authority of empire be sacrificed to the seductive charm of letters.[5]

Therefore, C. Marius, you are not to be held guilty of rustic rigour in that you did not wish your old age, crowned with double laurels, illustrious with the trophies of Numidia and Germany, to acquire polish from the eloquence of a conquered race, you, the conqueror.[6] You feared, I think, that by alien exercise of intelligence you would emerge as a tardy deserter from national usage. Who was it then that opened the door to our modern practice by which the senate's ears are deafened with Greek harangues? Molo the declaimer, I imagine, he who honed

[6] Sall. *Iug.* 63.3, 85.32, Plut. *Mar.* 2.

namque ante omnes exterarum gentium in senatu sine interprete auditum constat. quem honorem non immerito cepit, quoniam summam vim Romanae eloquentiae adiuverat. conspicuae felicitatis Arpinas <m>unic<ipi>um, sive litterarum gloriosissimum contemptorem sive abundantissimum fontem intueri velis.

4a Maxima autem diligentia maiores hunc morem retinuerunt, ne quis se inter consulem et proximum lictorem, quamvis officii causa una progrederetur, interponeret. filio dumtaxat et ei puero ante patrem consulem ambulandi ius erat. qui mos adeo pertinaciter retentus est ut Q. Fabius Maximus quinquies consul, vir et iam pridem summae auctoritatis et tunc ultimae senectutis, a filio consule invitatus ut inter se et lictorem procederet, ne hostium Samnitium turba, ad quorum colloquium descendebant, eliderentur, facere id noluerit.

4b Idem a senatu legatus ad filium consulem Suessam missus, postquam animadvertit eum ad officium suum extra moenia oppidi processisse, indignatus quod ex undecim lictoribus nemo se equo descendere iussisset, plenus irae sedere perseveravit. quod cum filius sensisset, proximo

---

[7] Cf. Cic. *Brut.* 312. [8] See p. 86 n. 9

[9] Valerius conflates the two most famous Fabii Maximi, Rullianus and Verrucosus (Cunctator). The first served as "Legate lieutenant" to his own son, Q. Fabius Maximus Gurges, Consul in 292; see VM 5.7.1, Livy *Per.* 11, Broughton I.181f. He is the subject of the first anecdote. The Cunctator's son was Consul in 213; 2.2.4b about him is quoted from Claudius Quadrigarius verbatim by Gellius, 2.2.13. This anecdote is also in Livy 24.44.9f.

[10] As "legate lieutenant" like his great-grandfather in 292: *pater filio legatus ad Suessulam in castra venit* (Livy 24.44.9). But

the studies of M. Cicero.[7] For we know that he before any other of foreign nationality was heard in the senate without an interpreter. Nor was he undeserving of the honour, since he had aided Roman eloquence at its highest power. Conspicuous was the good fortune of the township of Arpinum, whether we choose to look at the most glorious scorner of letters or their most abounding fountain.

Our ancestors maintained with the utmost care the custom that no man should interpose himself between a Consul and his Proximate Lictor,[8] even though walking with the Consul in the course of duty. Only a son, and a boy at that, had the right to walk in front of his father, the Consul. This custom was so obstinately maintained that when Q. Fabius Maximus, five times Consul, one who had for a long time been held in the highest respect and was at this time in extreme old age, was invited by his son, who was Consul, to walk between himself and the lictor, so that he should not be jostled by a crowd of enemy Samnites whom they were on their way to meet, he refused.

The same,[9] when sent by the senate as Legate to his son,[10] the Consul, at Suessa, saw that he had come forth outside the town walls to pay his respects. Annoyed because none of the eleven lictors[11] had told him to dismount from his horse, he wrathfully kept his seat. Seeing this, his son ordered his Proximate Lictor to command his father

Valerius may have understood Livy as meaning that he was sent by the senate as its representative. So Combès renders "reçevant du Sénat la mission d'aller auprès de son fils, qui était Consul, à Suessa." Quadrigarius calls him Proconsul. [11] As Consul Fabius junior had eleven in addition to his Proximate Lictor. Senior will have passed them as he rode towards his son.

lictori ut ‹patrem iuberet ut ex equo descenderet et›[9] sibi appareret imperavit. cuius voci continuo Fabius obsecutus 'non ego' inquit, 'fili, summum imperium tuum contempsi, sed experiri volui an scires consulem agere: nec ignoro quid patriae venerationi debeatur, verum publica instituta privata pietate potiora iudico.'

5 Relatis Q. Fabii laudibus, offerunt se mirificae constantiae viri, qui legati a senatu Tarentum ad res repetendas missi, cum gravissimas ibi iniurias accepissent, unus etiam urina respersus esset, in theatrum, ut est consuetudo Graeciae, introducti, legationem quibus acceperant verbis peregerunt, de iis quae passi erant questi non sunt, ne quid ultra ac mandatum esset loquerentur, insitusque pectoribus eorum antiqui moris respectus dolore, qui ex contumelia gravissimus sentitur, convelli non potuit. finem profecto fruendarum opum, quibus ad invidiam diu abundaveras, Tarentina civitas, quaesisti: nam dum horridae virtutis in se ipsum connixum[10] stabilimentum nitore fortunae praesentis inflata fastidiose aestimas, in praevalidum imperii nostri mucronem caeca et amens irruisti.

6 Sed ut a luxu perditis moribus ad severissima maiorum instituta transgrediar, antea senatus adsiduam stationem eo loci peragebat qui hodieque senaculum appellatur; nec exspectabat ut edicto contraheretur, sed inde citatus protinus in curiam veniebat, ambiguae laudis civem existimans qui debitis rei publicae officiis non sua sponte sed iussus

[9] *add. SB*[3] [10] connixum *Guyet*: convexum* AL

---

[12] 282: Livy *Per.* 12 etc.

[13] From *senex;* Varro *Ling. Lat.* 5.156, Paulus (Fest.) 455 Lindsay. It was beside the temple of Concord, close to the senate house.

to dismount and wait upon him. Fabius obeyed the order at once with the words: "My son, I did not flout your supreme authority, but I wished to take trial of whether you knew how to behave as a Consul. Neither am I unaware of the claims of respect due to a father, but I consider that public institutions take precedence over private duty."

Now that the commendable actions of Q. Fabius have been related, some men of remarkable imperturbability present themselves. Sent to Tarentum by the senate as envoys to demand restitution, they received gross insults there, one of them being actually splashed with urine. Introduced into the theatre according to the custom of Greece, they discharged their office in the words prescribed to them, but concerning what they had suffered they made no complaint, lest they speak outside their instructions. Their ingrained respect for ancient custom could not be subverted by the profound indignation felt at such contumely.[12] City of Tarentum, you surely sought to end your enjoyment of the prosperity in which you had long abounded to the general envy. Puffed up by the glitter of present fortune, you looked superciliously upon the stabilizing force of rugged, self-concentrated worth and rushed in your blind folly upon the irrefragable blade of our empire.

But to pass from manners corrupted by luxury to the austere institutions of our ancestors, the senate in former times kept regular station in the place which even today is called the *senaculum.*[13] They did not wait to be assembled by proclamation but would proceed thence to the senate house immediately when summoned. For to their thinking a citizen who discharged offices due to the commonwealth not of his own volition but in compliance with an order de-

fungeretur, quia quidquid imperio cogitur exigenti magis quam praestanti acceptum refertur.

7 Illud quoque memoria repetendum est, quod tribunis plebis intrare curiam non licebat, ante valvas autem positis subselliis decreta patrum attentissima cura examinabant, ut si qua ex eis improbassent, rata esse non sinerent. itaque veteribus senatus consultis T[11] littera subscribi solebat, eaque nota significabatur illa tribunos quoque censuisse. qui, quamvis pro commodis plebis excubabant inque imperiis compescendis occupati erant, instrui tamen ea argenteis vasis et anulis aureis publice praebitis patiebantur, quo talium rerum usu auctoritas magistratuum esset ornatior.

8 Quorum quemadmodum maiestas amplificabatur ita abstinentia artissime constringebatur: immolatarum enim ab iis hostiarum exta ad quaestores aerarii delata venibant, sacrificiisque populi Romani cum deorum immortalium cultus tum etiam hominum continentia inerat, imperatoribus nostris quam sanctas manus habere deberent apud ipsa[12] altaria discentibus: continentiaeque tantum tribuebatur ut multorum aes alienum, quia provincias sincere administraverant, a senatu persolutum sit: nam quorum opera publicam auctoritatem splendorem suum procul obtinuisse viderant, eorum dignitatem domi collabi indignum sibique deforme esse arbitrabantur.

[11] t ⊊: *om.* AL: c P [12] ipsa *SB*: ista AL

---

[14] Zonaras 7.15.8. [15] See critical note. C = *censuerunt* (-ere, Greek ἔδοξεν) at the end of decrees does not refer to Tribunes. Valerius surely had T, though whether his information on

served but questionable commendation, since any service forced by authority redounds to the credit of him who requires it rather than of him who renders it.

It is also to be recalled that the Tribunes of the Plebs used not to be allowed to enter the senate house.[14] Their bench was placed in front of the door, and there they examined the Fathers' decrees with the greatest care so as not to allow anything in them of which they disapproved to become final. So the letter T[15] used to be subscribed to ancient senatorial decrees, which mark indicated that the Tribunes too had voted in their favour. Although they kept watch for the interests of the common people and were busy in holding down magisterial powers, they allowed them to be furnished with silver vessels and golden rings publicly provided, so that respect for magistrates be enhanced by such accessories.

Even as their dignity was amplified, it was kept closely in check by restraint. The entrails of the victims they sacrificed were conveyed to the Treasury Quaestors and sold.[16] Thus in the sacrifices of the Roman people the cult of the immortal gods went along with human continence and those in command of us learnt at the very altars how clean they should keep their hands. Such credit was given for continence that the senate paid the debts of many because they had administered their provinces incorruptibly. For they judged it unworthy and discreditable to themselves that persons through whom public authority had kept its lustre in far-off places should suffer collapse of standing at home.

this point is not due to some confusion of his own is another matter. [16] Not recorded elsewhere.

9a Equestris vero ordinis iuventus omnibus annis bis urbem spectaculo sui sub magnis auctoribus celebrabat:[13] Lupercalium enim mos a Romulo et Remo incohatus est tunc cum laetitia exsultantes, quod iis avus Numitor, rex Albanorum, eo loco ubi educati erant urbem condere permiserat sub monte Palatino, [hortatu Faustuli educatoris sui],[14] quem Evander Arcas consecraverat, facto sacrificio caesisque capris epularum hilaritate ac vino largiore provecti, divisa pastorali turba, cincti pellibus immolatarum hostiarum obvios[15] iocantes petiverunt. cuius hilaritatis memoria annuo circuitu feriarum repetitur. trabeatos vero equites idibus Iuliis Q. Fabius transvehi instituit.

9b Idem censor cum P. Decio seditionis finiendae gratia, quam comitia in humillimi cuiusque potestatem redacta accenderant, omnem forensem turbam in quattuor tantummodo tribus discripsit easque urbanas appellavit. quo tam salubri facto vir alioqui in bellicis operibus excellens Maximus cognominatus est.

3

1 Laudanda etiam populi verecundia est, qui impigre se laboribus et periculis militiae offerendo dabat operam ne

[13] celebrabant P [14] hortatu ... sui **del. Torr.*: *num supra post* incohatus est *transferenda?*

[15] obvios **ante* pellibus A?, L; *huc transf. coni. Briscoe*

---

[17] Celebrated on 15 February; see Briscoe, especially Ov. *Fast.* 2.267–452. [18] Perhaps as Master of Horse in 325. According to Dion. Hal. 6.13.4 it originated after the battle of Lake Regillus in 499 or 496. On the procession cf. Livy 9.46.15, Dion.

The younger members of the equestrian order filled Rome twice annually with a showing of themselves, for which they had high authority. The custom of the Lupercalia[17] was begun by Romulus and Remus, exultant because their grandfather Numitor, king of Alba, had given them permission to found a city in the place of their upbringing under the Palatine mountain which Evander the Arcadian had consecrated. After sacrifice and slaughter of goats, carried away by the merriment of a feast and large draughts of wine, they divided the shepherd gathering and girt with skins of immolated victims attacked in jest those they met. The memory of that merry occasion is renewed as the annual holiday comes round. But it was Q. Fabius[18] who instituted the custom that the knights, wearing the purple coat,[19] ride past on the Ides of July.

He too as Censor with P. Decius distributed the whole city populace among only four tribes and called them "urban."[20] This he did to put an end to a sedition fired by elections that had come into the control of the lowest elements. For this salutary act Fabius, who was otherwise distinguished for his achievements in war, received the surname "Maximus."

3

Laudable also is the modesty of the people,[1] who by briskly offering themselves for the toils and dangers of military service saw to it that commanders did not have to ask

Hal., Briscoe. [19] Called *trabea*. [20] Cf. Broughton I.167f.

[1] I.e. the propertied classes, who were willing to serve as private soldiers.

imperatoribus capite censos sacramento rogare esset necesse, quorum nimia inopia suspecta erat, ideoque iis publica arma non committebant. sed hanc diutina usurpatione formatam consuetudinem C. Marius capite censum legendo militem abrupit, civis alioqui magnificus, sed novitatis suae conscientia vetustati non sane propitius, memorque si militaris elegantia[16] humilitatem spernere perseveraret,[17] se a maligno virtutum interprete velut capite censum imperatorem compellari posse. itaque fastidiosum dilectus genus in exercitibus Romanis oblitterandum duxit, ne talis notae contagio ad ipsius quoque gloriae suggillationem penetraret.

2 Armorum tractandorum meditatio a P. Rutilio consule, Cn. Mallii collega, militibus est tradita: is enim nullius ante se imperatoris exemplum secutus, ex ludo C. Aurelii Scauri doctoribus gladiatorum arcessitis, vitandi atque inferendi ictus subtiliorem rationem legi<oni>bus ingeneravit, virtutemque arti et rursus artem virtuti miscuit, ut illa impetu huius fortior, haec illius scientia cautior fieret.

3 Velitum usus eo bello primum repertus est quo Capuam Fulvius Flaccus imperator obsedit: nam cum equitatus[18] Campanorum crebris excursionibus equites nostri,

[16] elegantia *SB*³: ignavia AL; Br
[17] perseveraret G, A *corr.*: -rent AL [18] equitatus *SB*: -ui AL

---

[2] "The class of citizens which, having little or no property, was assessed by its number" (OLD). [3] In his first Consulship (107): Sall. *Iug.* 86.2f. etc. [4] Marius was a "new man," having no senatorial ancestors; see Shackleton Bailey, *Am. Journ. Phil.* 107 (1986). 258–60 = *Select Classical Papers* 311–13.

[5] One who interpreted them maliciously, played them down.

capite censi[2] to take the military oath, whose excessive poverty made them suspect and on that account they did not trust them with public arms. But this custom, fortified though it was by long observance, was broken by C. Marius when he enlisted a *capite census* into the army.[3] A fine citizen otherwise, he was not very friendly to antiquity from consciousness of his own newness,[4] and he bore in mind that if military fastidiousness continued to scorn humble station he might be challenged as a *capite census* general by some evil-minded interpreter of virtues.[5] So he thought that this arrogant mode of selection in the Roman armies should be abolished, fearing that the contagion of such stigma might reach to the besmirching of his own glory.

Practice in handling arms was passed on to soldiers by the Consul P. Rutilius, Cn. Mallius' colleague.[6] Following the example of no previous general, he called in gladiator instructors from the school[7] of C. Aurelius Scaurus to plant in the legions a more sophisticated system of avoiding and giving a blow. He mingled valour with art and art in turn with valour, to make the former stronger by the impetus of the latter and the latter more wary by the science of the former.

The use of light-armed foot soldiers was first discovered in the war in which the general Fulvius Flaccus besieged Capua.[8] Our horsemen were unable to resist the

6 105: the action is not attested elsewhere, though Briscoe refers to Ennod. p. 284 von Hartel.

7 *Ludus,* a troop of gladiators.

8 212: Livy 26.4.4–10, [Front.] *Strat.* 4.7.29. But the fourth book of the latter work is spurious and largely drawn from Valerius; see C. E. Bennett's Loeb edition, p. xxii, from Wachsmuth.

quia numero pauciores erant, resistere non possent, Q. Navius centurio e peditibus lectos expediti corporis brevibus et incurvis septenis armatos hastis, parvo tegumine munitos, veloci saltu iungere se equitantibus et rursus celeri motu delabi instituit, quo facilius equestri proelio subiecti pedites viros pariter atque equos hostium telis incesserent, eaque novitas pugnae unicum Campanae perfidiae debilitavit auxilium, ideoque auctori eius Navio honos a duce[19] est habitus.

4

1 Proximus <a>[20] militaribus institutis ad urbana castra, id est theatra, gradus faciendus est, quoniam haec quoque saepenumero animosas acies instruxerunt, excogitataque cultus deorum et hominum delectationis causa non sine aliquo pacis rubore voluptatem et religionem civili sanguine scaenicorum portentorum gratia macularunt.

2 Quae incohata quidem sunt a Messalla et Cassio censoribus. ceterum auctore P. Scipione Nasica omnem apparatum operis eorum subiectum hastae venire placuit, atque etiam senatus consulto cautum est ne quis in urbe propiusve passus mille subsellia posuisse sedensve ludos spectare vellet, ut scilicet remissioni[21] animorum standi virilitas propria Romanae gentis iuncta[22] esset.

[19] a duce *Lipsius*: adhuc AL [20] *add. Halm*
[21] remissioni ... esset *intra cruces Briscoe*
[22] iuncta *Halm*: nota AL

---

[9] I.e. the metal heads were curved (Kempf).
[1] Cf. Tac. *Ann.* 1.77.1 on the slaughter in A.D. 15.

frequent sorties of the Campanian horse because they were fewer in number. So Q. Navius, Centurion, chose men of agile physique from the infantry, armed them each with seven short, curved[9] lances and a small shield, and had them leap rapidly to join the riders and slip swiftly down again, so that as infantry put into a cavalry fight they might the more easily attack the enemy men and horses alike with their weapons. That tactical innovation weakened Campanian perfidy's only support, and Navius its author was decorated by the general on account of it.

4

From military institutions we must pass to the next step, the city camps, that is to say the theatres, since they too often drew up doughty battle lines. Invented for the worship of the gods and the enjoyment of men, they stained pleasure and religion with civil bloodshed for the sake of the monstrosities on the stage; and peace blushed.[1]

These were begun by the Censors Messalla and Cassius.[2] But at the instance of P. Scipio Nasica[3] it was decided to auction off all the properties of their craft.[4] It was also laid down by senatorial decree that no one in Rome or within a mile thereof should set up benches or make to watch a show sitting down, no doubt to the intent that mental relaxation should go together with the virility of a standing posture proper to the Roman nation.

[2] 154: Livy *Per.* 48, Vell. 1.15.3 etc. [3] Corculum. The tradition is confused; cf. Münzer *RE* IV. 1499, 35ff.

[4] *Eorum* seems to be the actors, though the nearest antecedent is *quae (theatra)*.

3 Per quingentos autem et quinquaginta et octo annos senatus populo mixtus spectaculo ludorum interfuit. sed hunc morem Atilius Serranus et L. Scribonius aediles ludos Matri deum facientes, posterioris Africani sententiam secuti, discretis senatus et populi locis solverunt, eaque res avertit vulgi animum et favorem Scipionis magnopere quassavit.

4 Nunc causam instituendorum ludorum ab origine sua repetam. C. Sulpicio Petico C. Licinio Stolone consulibus intoleranda vis ortae pestilentiae civitatem nostram a bellicis operibus revocatam domestici atque intestini mali cura adflixerat, iamque plus in exquisito et novo cultu religionis quam in ullo humano consilio positum opis videbatur. itaque placandi caelestis numinis gratia compositis carminibus vacuas aures praebuit, ad id tempus circensi spectaculo contenta, quod primus Romulus raptis virginibus Sabinis Consualium nomine celebravit. verum, ut est mos hominum parvula initia pertinaci studio prosequendi, venerabilibus erga deos verbis iuventus rudi atque incomposito motu corporum iocabunda gestus adiecit, eaque res ludium ex Etruria arcessendi causam dedit. cuius decora pernicitas vetusto ex more Curetum Lydorumque, a quibus Tusci originem traxerunt, novitate grata Romanorum oculos permulsit, et quia ludius apud eos ister[23] appellabatur, scaenico nomen histrionis inditum est. paulatim

[23] ister *Briscoe* (hi- *Pighius*): histrio AL

---

[5] In 194: Cic. *Har. resp.* 24, Livy 34.44.5 etc.

[6] By mistake for the elder, who was Consul in 194.

For five hundred and fifty-eight years the senate attended the spectacle of the games mingled with the people. That practice was brought to an end by the Aediles Atilius Serranus and L. Scribonius when they put on games in honour of the Mother of the Gods.[5] Following the advice of the younger Africanus,[6] they separated the places of senate and people, a step which offended the populace and dealt a severe blow to Scipio's popularity.

Now let me recall from the beginning the reason why games were instituted. In the Consulship of C. Sulpicius Peticus and C. Licinius Stolo[7] a pestilence broke out with insupportable violence, calling our community away from military activities and crushing it with care for an internal mischief. And now it appeared that more help was to be found in a carefully chosen new religious practice than in any human device. So the people, who hitherto had been content with the circus show first put on by Romulus under the name of Consualia after the rape of the Sabine virgins, now lent vacant[8] ears to poems composed to placate celestial power. But as it is the way of mankind to follow up small beginnings with zealous persistence, the young men added to the worshipping words addressed to the gods playful gestures with rude and clumsy body movements, and that gave rise to the summoning of a dancer from Etruria. His graceful agility, after the ancient manner of the Curetes and Lydians from whom the Tuscans drew their origin, charmed the eyes of the Romans with its welcome novelty; and because a dancer was called "ister" in Etruria, the name of "histriones" was given to actors.

[7] 364 or 361 (Broughton I.116 n.): Livy 7.2 etc.

[8] I.e. receptive.

deinde ludicra ars ad saturarum modos perrepsit, a quibus primus omnium poeta Livius ad fabularum argumenta spectantium animos transtulit, isque sui operis actor, cum saepius a populo revocatus vocem obtudisset, adhibito pueri ac tibicinis concentu gesticulationem tacitus peregit. Atellani autem ab Oscis acciti sunt; quod genus delectationis Italica severitate temperatum ideoque vacuum nota est: nam neque tribu movetur ‹actor›[24] nec a militaribus stipendiis repellitur.

5 Et quia ceteri ludi ipsis appellationibus unde trahantur apparet, non absurdum videtur saecularibus initium suum, cuius [generis][25] minus trita notitia est, reddere. cum ingenti pestilentia urbs agrique vastarentur, Valesius, vir locuples rusticae vitae, duobus filiis et filia ad desperationem usque medicorum laborantibus, aquam iis calidam[26] a foco petens, genibus nixus lares familiares ut puerorum periculum in ipsius caput transferrent oravit. orta deinde vox est, habiturum eos salvos si continuo flumine Tiberi devectos Tarentum portasset, ibique ex Ditis patris et Proserpinae ara petita aqua recreasset. eo praedicto magnopere confusus, quod et longa et periculosa navigatio imperabatur, spe tamen dubia praesentem metum vincente pueros ad ripam Tiberis protinus detulit—habitabat enim in villa sua propter vicum Sabinae regionis Eretum—, ac lintre Ostiam petens nocte concubia ad Martium campum appulit, sitientibusque aegris succurrere cu-

[24] *add. Gertz, Cornelissen* [25] *del. Gertz*
[26] eis calidam P: c- is AL

---

[9] Cf. Fest. 440, Paulus (Fest.) 479 Lindsay. They had been celebrated by Augustus in 17; see Frazer on Ov. *Fast.* 1.501.

Gradually the mimic art made its slow way to the rhythms of *saturae,* from which the poet Livius was the first to draw the minds of spectators to the themes of plays. He acted his own work and being frequently recalled by the audience made his voice hoarse, so he brought a boy and a flute player to make music while he silently went through the miming. Atellans were introduced from the Oscans. That form of entertainment was tempered with Italian austerity and so it is free from censure, the actor being neither expelled from his tribe nor repulsed from military service.

Since the other games show by their names where they came from, it does not seem out of place to assign their origin to the Secular[9] ones, it being less a matter of common knowledge. When Rome and its countryside were being devastated by a tremendous pestilence, a rich man called Valesius, rustic in his style of life, had two sons and a daughter sick to the despair of the doctors. As he was getting hot water for them from the hearth, he fell on his knees and prayed to the household gods that they transfer the children's peril onto his own head. A voice then was heard, saying that he would have his children safe if he brought them forthwith down the river Tiber to Tarentum and there refreshed them with water from the altar of Dis Pater and Proserpine. He was much perplexed by this prediction, for the voyage prescribed was long and dangerous. However, dubious hope overcoming present fear, he brought the children straightway to Tiber bank (he lived on his farm near a village in the Sabine district called Eretum) and made for Ostia in a boat. In the dead of night he put in at the Field of Mars. The sick children were

piens, igne in navigio non suppetente ex gubernatore cognovit haud procul apparere fumum, et ab eo iussus egredi Tarentum—id nomen ei loco est—, cupide arrepto calice, aquam flumine haustam eo unde fumus erat obortus iam laetior pertulit, divinitus dati remedii quasi vestigia quaedam in propinquo nanctum se existimans, inque solo magis fumante quam ullas ignis habente reliquias, dum tenacius omen apprehendit, contractis levibus et quae fors obtulerat nutrimentis pertinaci spiritu flammam evocavit,[27] calefactamque aquam pueris bibendam dedit. qua potata salutari quiete sopiti diutina vi morbi repente sunt liberati, patrique indicaverunt vidisse se in somnis a nescio quo deorum spongea corpora sua pertergeri et praecipi ut ad Ditis patris et Proserpinae aram, a qua potio ipsis fuerat allata, furvae hostiae immolarentur lectisterniaque ac ludi nocturni fierent. is, quod eo loci nullam aram viderat, desiderari credens ut a se constitueretur, aram empturus in urbem perrexit, relictis qui fundamentorum constituendorum gratia terram ad solidum foderent. hi domini imperium exsequentes, cum ad viginti pedum altitudinem humo egesta pervenissent, animadverterunt aram Diti patri Proserpinaeque inscriptam. hoc postquam Valesius nuntiante servo accepit, omisso emendae arae proposito hostias nigras, quae antiquitus furvae dicebantur, Tarenti immolavit, ludosque et lectisternia continuis tribus noctibus, quia totidem filii periculo liberati erant, fecit. cuius exemplum Valerius Publicola,

[27] evocavit *Torr.*: evomuit AL

thirsty, and wishing to succour them, since there was no fire on board, he learned from the skipper that smoke could be seen not far away. The same told him to get out at Tarentum, so the place was called. Eagerly he snatched up a cup and carried water drawn from the river to the place where the smoke had risen, more cheerful now because he thought he had come upon some traces as it were of a divinely offered remedy close at hand. The ground was smoking rather than bearing any remains of fire, so firmly seizing on the omen, he gathered some light fuel as chance supplied it, and blowing on it persistently, elicited a flame, heated the water, and gave it to the children to drink. After doing so, they fell into a healing sleep and were suddenly free from the long-protracted violence of the disease. They told their father that in their sleep they saw their bodies sponged all over by one or other of the gods and directions given that dusky victims should be sacrificed at the altar of Dis Pater and Proserpine, whence the drink had been brought to them, and that spreading of couches and nocturnal games be held. Valesius had seen no altar in that spot, so, thinking it was desired that he should set one up, he went to Rome to buy an altar, leaving men to dig the earth down to a solid floor in order to lay foundations. Following their master's orders, they dug out the soil and reached a depth of twenty feet when they noticed an altar inscribed to Dis Pater and Proserpine. A slave reported this to Valesius, who at the news gave up his intention to buy an altar and sacrificed black victims, which in antiquity were called "dusky," at Tarentum, and held games and spreading of couches for three consecutive nights, because his children were freed from danger in the same number. His example was followed by Valerius

qui primus consul fuit, studio succurrendi civibus secutus, apud eandem aram publice nuncupatis votis caesisque atris bubus, Diti maribus, feminis Proserpinae, lectisternioque ac ludis trinoctio factis, aram terra, ut ante fuerat, obruit.

6 Religionem ludorum crescentibus opibus secuta lautitia est. eius instinctu Q. Catulus, Campanam imitatus luxuriam, primus spectantium consessum velorum umbraculis texit. Cn. Pompeius ante omnes aquae per semitas decursu aestivum minuit fervorem. Claudius Pulcher scaenam varietate colorum adumbravit, vacuis ante pictura tabulis extentam. quam totam argento C. Antonius, auro Petreius, ebore Q. Catulus praetexuit. versatilem fecerunt Luculli, argentatis choragiis P. Lentulus Spinther adornavit. translatum, antea punicis indutum tunicis, M. Scaurus exquisito genere vestis cultum induxit.

7 Nam gladiatorium munus primum Romae datum est in foro Boario Ap. Claudio Q. Fulvio consulibus. dederunt M. et D. filii Bruti Perae funebri memoria patris cineres honorando. athletarum certamen a M. Scauri tractum est munificentia.

---

[10] 504: Plut. *Publ.* 21 etc.

[11] After consecrating the reconstructed Capitol in 69: Pliny *N.H.* 19.23.

[12] 55: cf. Cic. *Fam.* 7.1, Pliny *N.H.* 8.20.

[13] C. Claudius Pulcher as Curule Aedile in 99 (Broughton II.1).

[14] As Praetor in 66 (Broughton II.151f.).

[15] Before 64 (Broughton II.164 n.1).

[16] L. Licinius Lucullus and M. Terentius Varro Lucullus as Curule Aediles in 79 (Broughton II.83).

Publicola, the first Consul, anxious to come to the aid of his fellow countrymen.[10] At the same altar public vows were taken, black oxen were slaughtered (male for Dis, female for Proserpine) and a spreading of couches and games were held for three nights. Then he covered the altar with earth as it had been before.

As wealth increased, elegance followed religion in the games. At its prompting Q. Catulus was the first to cover the sitting spectators with a shady awning in imitation of Campanian luxury.[11] Cn. Pompeius led the way in tempering summer heat with water flowing in channels.[12] Claudius Pulcher[13] applied a variety of colours to the stage, which previously had consisted of unpainted boards. C. Antonius[14] lined the whole of it with silver, Petreius[15] with gold, Q. Catulus with ivory. The Luculli[16] made it revolving, P. Lentulus Spinther[17] decorated it with silver properties. M. Scaurus[18] brought on the parade, previously dressed in scarlet tunics, arrayed in specially chosen costume.

The first gladiator show in Rome was given in the Forum Boarium in the Consulship of Ap. Claudius and Q. Fulvius.[19] The donors were Marcus and Decimus, sons of Brutus Pera, honouring their father's ashes with a funerary memorial. An athletic contest was held by the munificence of M. Scaurus.

[17] As Curule Aedile in 63: Cic. *Off.* 2.57.

[18] As Curule Aedile in 58 (Broughton II.195).

[19] 264: Livy *Per.* 16. Valerius and others later follow him as to Fulvius' praenomen, which is Marcus in the Fasti and Gell. 17.21.40.

5

1 Statuam auratam nec in urbe nec in ulla parte Italiae quisquam prius aspexit quam a M'. Acilio Glabrione equestris patri poneretur in aede Pietatis. eam autem aedem P. Cornelio Lentulo M. Baebio Tamphilo consulibus ipse dedicaverat, compos voti factus rege Antiocho apud Thermopylas superato.

2 Ius civile per multa saecula inter sacra caerimoniasque deorum immortalium abditum solisque pontificibus notum Cn. Flavius, libertino patre genitus et scriba, cum ingenti nobilitatis indignatione factus aedilis curulis, vulgavit ac fastos paene toto foro exposuit. qui, cum ad visendum aegrum collegam suum veniret neque a nobilibus, quorum frequentia cubiculum erat completum, sedendi loco reciperetur, sellam curulem adferri iussit et in ea honoris pariter atque contemptus sui vindex consedit.

3 Veneficii quaestio, et moribus et legibus Romanis ignota, complurium matronarum patefacto scelere orta est. quae, cum viros suos clandestinis insidiis veneno perimerent, unius ancillae indicio protractae, pars capitali iudicio damnatae centum et septuaginta numerum expleverunt.

4 Tibicinum quoque collegium solet in foro vulgi oculos in se convertere, cum inter publicas privatasque serias

---

[1] Livy 40.34.5f., Amm. Marc. 14.6.8.

[2] 181: "Lentulus" is Livy's error for Cethegus (Broughton I.386 n.1). Valerius moreover has misunderstood his source; the temple was consecrated and the statue placed by the younger Glabrio in 181, fulfilling his father's vow.

[3] 304: Piso ap. Gell. 7.9, Cic. *Att.* 6.1.8, Livy 9.46 etc.

[4] Livy 9.46.9.

5

Nobody saw a gilded statue either in Rome or any other part of Italy until an equestrian one was placed in the temple of Piety by M'. Acilius Glabrio in honour of his father.[1] The latter had himself dedicated that temple in the Consulship of P. Cornelius Lentulus and M. Baebius Tamphilus,[2] for the granting of his vow when king Antiochus was defeated at Thermopylae.

For many centuries the civil law was hidden among the rituals and ceremonies of the immortal gods and known only to the Pontiffs. Then Cn. Flavius, son of a freedman and a scribe, was elected Curule Aedile to the vast indignation of the nobility and made it public, displaying the calendar all over the Forum so to speak.[3] On his arriving to visit a sick colleague, a crowd of nobles who filled the bedroom did not offer him a seat; so he ordered a curule chair brought in and sat down on that, thus avenging both his office and the personal slight.[4]

The Court of Poisonings, previously unknown in Roman manners and laws, came into existence after the crime of a number of married women had been revealed. They had poisoned their husbands in a secret plot and were brought to book on the information of one slave girl. Some were condemned on a capital charge to the number of one hundred and seventy.[5]

The corporation of flute players is apt to draw the eyes of the crowd when it makes music in the Forum during serious transactions, public and private, with heads con-

[5] 331: Livy 8.18 etc.

actiones personis tecto capite variaque veste velatum concentus edit. inde tracta licentia. quondam vetiti in aede Iovis, quod prisco more factitaverant, vesci, Tibur irati se contulerunt. quorum ministerio senatus deserta sacra non aequo animo ferens, per legatos a Tiburtibus petiit ut eos gratia sua Romanis templis restituerent. quos illi in proposito perseverantes, interposita festae epulationis simulatione, mero somnoque sopitos plaustris in urbem devehendos curaverunt. quibus et honos pristinus restitutus et huiusce lusus ius est datum. personarum usus pudorem circumventae temulentiae causam habet.

5 Fuit etiam illa simplicitas antiquorum in cibo capiendo humanitatis simul et continentiae certissima index: nam maximis viris prandere et cenare in propatulo verecundiae non erat. nec sane ullas epulas habebant quas populi oculis subicere erubescerent. erant adeo continentiae[28] attenti ut frequentior apud eos pultis usus quam panis esset, ideoque in sacrificiis mola quae vocatur[29] ex farre et sale constat, exta farre sparguntur et pullis quibus auspicia petuntur puls obicitur. primitiis enim et libamentis victus sui deos eo efficacius quo simplicius placabant.

6 Et ceteros quidem ad benefaciendum venerabantur, Febrem autem ad minus nocendum templis colebant, quorum adhuc unum in Palatio, alterum in area Mariano-

[28] continentiae ς: -enter* AL
[29] vocatur *Lipsius*: -abatur AL

---

[6] On the Ides of June: see Frazer on Ov. *Fast.* 6.651.
[7] In 312 (Broughton I.160).
[8] Varro *Ling. Lat.* 5.104 etc.

cealed by masks and wearing motley garments.[6] Their licence had the following origin. Once upon a time[7] they were forbidden to take their meals in the temple of Jupiter, as they had been wont to do by ancient custom, and in dudgeon betook themselves to Tibur. The senate did not take it lightly that the rites of religion should be deprived of their ministry and asked the people of Tibur through envoys to restore them to the Roman temples as a favour. Since the flute players persisted in their resolution, the men of Tibur staged a festal banquet and had them placed on carts in a drunken sleep and taken to Rome. Their former privilege was restored to them and they were given the right to make this sport. The wearing of masks is due to their shame at the tricking of their tipsiness.

The simplicity of the men of old in the taking of their meals is another sure sign both of good nature and of self-restraint. The greatest among them were not ashamed to take luncheon and dinner in the open. To be sure, they had no feasts that they blushed to expose to public gaze. So intent were they on self-restraint that they used more gruel than bread, and that is why the cake (*mola* as it is called) at sacrifices consists of flour and salt,[8] entrails are sprinkled with flour, and gruel is fed to the chickens from which the auspices are sought. For they placated the gods with first offerings and tastes of their own diet, the more simply, the more effectively.

They worshipped other gods to make them beneficent but they paid cult to Fever[9] to make her less harmful with temples, one of which still stands on the Palatine, another in the space in front of the memorials of Marius, and

[9] Cic. *Nat. deor.* 3.63, *Leg.* 2.28 etc.

rum monumentorum, tertium in summa parte vici Longi exstat, in eaque remedia quae corporibus aegrorum adnexa fuerant deferebantur. haec ad humanae mentis aestus leniendos cum aliqua usus ratione excogitata. ceterum salubritatem suam industriae certissimo ac fidelissimo munimento tuebantur, bonaeque valitudinis eorum quasi quaedam mater erat frugalitas, inimica luxuriosis epulis et aliena nimiae vini abundantiae et ab immoderato veneris usu aversa.

6

1 Idem sensit proxima maiorum nostrorum gravitati Spartana civitas, quae severissimis Lycurgi legibus obtemperans aliquamdiu civium suorum oculos a contemplanda Asia retraxit, ne illecebris eius capti ad delicatius vitae genus prolaberentur: audierant enim inde lautitiam et immodicos sumptus et omnia non necessariae voluptatis genera fluxisse, primosque Ionas unguenti coronarumque in convivio dandarum et secundae mensae ponendae consuetudinem, haud parva luxuriae irritamenta, repperisse. ac minime mirum est quod homines labore ac patientia gaudentes tenacissimos patriae nervos externarum deliciarum contagione solvi et hebetari noluerunt, cum aliquanto faciliorem virtutis ad luxuriam quam luxuriae ad virtutem transitum viderent. quod eos non frustra timuisse dux ipsorum Pausanias patefecit, qui maximis operibus editis, ut primum se Asiae moribus permisit, fortitudinem suam effeminato eius cultu mollire non erubuit.

---

[1] This should have been "External" in Chapter V.

a third in the uppermost part of Long Street. To these shrines used to be brought remedies applied to the bodies of the sick. These practices were devised with some degree of reason based on experience to ease the tumults of the human spirit. But they guarded their health with the most certain and reliable protection of careful living, and frugality was a kind of mother to their well-being; inimical to luxurious banquets, a stranger to excess of wine, averse to immoderate sexual indulgence.

6[1]

The Spartan community, which came close to the gravity of our ancestors, felt the same. Obeying the austere laws of Lycurgus, for some long time it drew the eyes of its members back from gazing at Asia, lest ensnared by her seductions they should slide into a daintier style of living. For they had heard that from Asia flowed elegance and extravagance and all kinds of unnecessary pleasure, and that the Ionians had invented the custom of providing perfume and garlands at dinner and serving dessert, no small stimulants to luxury. Nor is it at all surprising that men rejoicing in toil and endurance did not want the tough muscles of their fatherland to be loosened and dulled by the contamination of foreign indulgences, seeing how much easier was the passage of manliness into luxury than of luxury into manliness. Their own general Pausanias[2] showed that their fears were not idle. After very great achievements, as soon as he gave himself over to the manners of Asia, he did not blush to soften his fortitude by her effeminate refinement.

[2] Thuc. 1.130, Nep. *Paus.* 3.1–3 etc.

2 Eiusdem civitatis exercitus non ante ad dimicandum descendere soleba<n>t quam tibiae concentu et anapaesti pedis modulo cohortationis calorem animo traxissent, vegeto et crebro ictus sono strenue hostem invadere admoniti. idem ad dissimulandum et occultandum vulnerum suorum cruorem punicis in proelio tunicis utebantur, non ne ipsis aspectus eorum terrorem, sed ne hostibus fiduciae aliquid adferret.

3 Egregios virtutis bellicae spiritus Lacedaemoniorum prudentissimi pacis moribus Athenienses subsequuntur, apud quos inertia e latebris suis languore marcens in forum perinde ac delictum aliquod protrahitur, fitque ut <non>[30] facinorosae ita erubescendae rea culpae.

4 Eiusdem urbis <vetustissimum>[31] et sanctissimum consilium Areos pagus quid quisque Atheniensium ageret aut quonam quaestu sustentaretur diligentissime inquirere solebat, ut homines honestatem, vitae rationem memores reddendam esse, sequerentur.

5 Eadem bonos cives corona decorandi primo consuetudinem introduxit, duobus oleae conexis ramulis clarum Periclis cingendo caput, probabile institutum, si<ve>[32] rem sive personam intueri velis: nam et virtutis uberrimum alimentum est honos et Pericles dignus a quo talis muneris dandi potestatis potissimum initium caperetur.

6 Age, quid illud institutum Athenarum, quam memora-

[30] *add. Per.* [31] vetustissimum *add. SB;* Br
[32] *add.* A *corr.*

---

[3] Cic. *Tusc.* 2.37 etc. Thucydides (5.70) says the music was to maintain regular formation.

The armies of the same state did not use to go to battle until their souls had absorbed warmth of encouragement from the concert of flutes and the anapestic measure, admonished by the lively, rapid beat to attack the enemy with vigour.[3] They also wore scarlet tunics in battle to disguise and conceal the blood from their wounds, not lest the sight of them bring terror to themselves but lest it bring some measure of confidence to their foes.[4]

Next to the noble breathings of warlike valour of the Lacedaemonians come the Athenians, greatly expert in the ways of peace. Among them Indolence is dragged lounging and languishing from her hiding into the marketplace as though a sin and taxed with shameful though not criminal offence.[5]

The most ancient and venerable council of the same city, the Areopagus, used to make diligent enquiry into what each individual Athenian did and how he earned his living, so that men should follow righteousness in awareness that they had to give an account of their lives.[6]

The same first introduced the custom of decorating good citizens with a crown, encircling the illustrious head of Pericles[7] with two intertwined olive branches, a commendable institution whether one looks to the fact or the person. For the richest nourishment of virtue is honour, and Pericles deserved to be the one from whom the power of bestowing such a gift should make a start.

And now another institution of Athens, how memora-

[4] Xen. *Resp. Lac.* 11.3 etc. [5] Plut. *Solon* 22 etc.

[6] Herod. 2.177, Isocr. *Areop.* 37, 44 etc.

[7] Not attested elsewhere, but wreaths of olive or gold were often awarded in Athens for distinguished public service.

bile, quod convictus a patrono libertus ingratus iure libertatis exuitur! 'supersedeo te' inquit 'habere civem tanti muneris impium aestimatorem, nec adduci possum ut credam urbi utilem quem domui scelestum cerno. abi igitur et esto servus, quoniam liber esse nescisti.'

7a Idem[33] Massilienses quoque ad hoc tempus usurpant, disciplinae gravitate, prisci moris observantia, caritate populi Romani praecipue conspicui, qui tres in eodem manumissiones rescindere permittunt; si ter ab eodem deceptum dominum cognoverunt, quarto errori subveniendum non putant, quia sua iam culpa iniuriam accepit qui ei se totiens obiecit.

7b Eadem civitas severitatis custos acerrima est, nullum aditum in scaenam mimis dando, quorum argumenta maiore ex parte stuprorum continent actus, ne talia spectandi consuetudo etiam imitandi licentiam sumat. omnibus autem qui per aliquam religionis simulationem alimenta inertiae quaerunt clausas portas habet, [et][34] mendacem et fucosam superstitionem summovendam esse existimans.

7c Ceterum a condita urbe gladius est ibi quo noxii iugulantur, rubigine quidem exesus et vix sufficiens ministerio, sed index in minimis quoque rebus omnia antiquae consuetudinis mo<nu>menta[35] servantium.

7d Duae etiam ante portas eorum arcae iacent, altera qua liberorum, altera qua servorum corpora ad sepulturae locum plaustro devehuntur, sine lamentatione, sine planc-

[33] idem *Gertz*: inde AL [34] *del. Stanger* [35] *add.* P

---

[8] See *RE* II.181 (*ἀποστασίου δίκη*). [9] Valerius is the only authority for the following items about Massilia.

ble! An ungrateful freedman convicted by his former master is stripped of his right of freedom.[8] "I cease," says she, "to consider you a citizen, the undutiful appraiser of so great a boon, neither can I be persuaded to believe you of use to the city whom I perceive to be a villain to your house. Get you gone then, and be a slave, since you did not know how to be free."

The Massilians[9] also to this day practice this same; especially remarkable as they are for gravity of discipline and observance of ancient custom and devotion to the Roman people. They allow three revocations of a manumission in the same individual if they find that he disappointed his master three times. They do not think it proper to come to the rescue of a fourth mistake, since one who exposed himself so often to injury suffered it by his own fault.

The same community is a most strict guardian of morals, not allowing mimes access to the stage, as their themes for the most part involve the enactment of illicit intercourse, lest the habit of watching such things take licence to imitate them. It closes its gates to all who by some pretence of religion seek sustenance for sloth, holding that false and fraudulent superstition should be ousted.

Also, from the foundation of the city there is a sword therein to kill the guilty. It is eroded by rust and scarcely adequate to its function, but a sign that even in the smallest details the monuments of ancient custom are to be preserved.

Also two coffins lie before their gates. In one the bodies of freemen, in the other of slaves are carried in a cart to the place of burial without wailing or breast-beating.

tu. luctus funeris die domestico sacrificio ad‹hib›itoque[36] necessariorum convivio finitur: etenim quid attinet aut humano dolori indulgeri aut divino numini invidiam fieri quod immortalitatem suam nobiscum partiri noluerit?

7e Venenum cicuta temperatum in ea civitate publice custoditur, quod datur ei qui causas sescentis—id enim senatus eius nomen est—exhibuit propter quas mors sit illi expetenda, cognitione virili benivolentia temperata, quae neque egredi vita temere patitur et sapienter excedere cupienti celerem fati viam praebet, ut vel adversa vel prospera nimis usis Fortuna—utraque enim finiendi spiritus, illa ne perseveret, haec ne destituat, rationem praebuerit—comprobato exitu terminetur.

8 Quam consuetudinem Massiliensium non in Gallia ortam sed ex Graecia translatam inde e‹xi›stimo,[37] quod illam etiam in insula Cea servari animadverti, quo tempore Asiam cum Sex. Pompeio petens Iulide‹m›[38] oppidum intravi: forte enim evenit ut tunc summae dignitatis ibi femina sed ultimae iam senectutis, reddita ratione civibus cur excedere vita deberet, veneno consumere se destinarit, mortemque suam Pompeii praesentia clariorem fieri magni aestimaret. nec preces eius vir ille, ut omnibus virtutibus ita humanitatis quoque laudibus instructissimus, aspernari sustinuit. venit itaque ad eam, facundissimoque sermone, qui ore eius quasi e beato quodam eloquentiae fonte manabat, ab incepto consilio diu nequiquam revocare conatus, ad ultimum propositum exsequi passus est.

[36] *add.* P [37] *add.* ς [38] *add. Kempf*

---

[10] Probably as Proconsul in or about A.D. 25; see Briscoe's article cited on p. 2.

Mourning ends on the day of the funeral with a domestic sacrifice and a banquet for relatives and friends. For what is the use of indulging human grief or arousing odium against divine power because it did not choose to share its immortality with us?

A poison compounded of hemlock is under public guard in that community, which is given to one who has shown reasons to the Six Hundred, as their senate is called, why death is desirable for him. The enquiry is conducted with firmness tempered by benevolence, not suffering the subject to leave life rashly but providing swift means of death to one who rationally desires a way out. Thus persons encountering an excess of bad fortune or good (for either might afford reason for ending life, the one lest it continue, the other lest it fail) find a finish to it in an approved departure.

I believe this usage of the Massilians did not originate in Gaul but was borrowed from Greece because I saw it also observed in the island of Cea when I entered the town of Iulis on my way to Asia with Sex. Pompeius.[10] For it so happened on that occasion that a lady of the highest rank there but in extreme old age, after explaining to her fellow citizens why she ought to depart from life, determined to put an end to herself by poison and set much store on having her death gain celebrity by the presence of Pompeius. Nor could that gentleman reject her plea, excellently endowed as he was with the virtue of good nature as with all other noble qualities. So he visited her and in fluent speech, which flowed from his lips as from some copious fountain of eloquence, tried at length but in vain to turn her back from her design. Finally he let her carry

quae nonagesimum annum transgressa cum summa et animi et corporis sinceritate, lectulo, quantum dinoscere erat, cotidiana consuetudine cultius strato recubans et innixa cubito, 'tibi quidem' inquit, 'Sex. Pompei, di magis quos relinquo quam quos peto gratias referant, quod nec hortator vitae meae nec mortis spectator esse fastidisti. ceterum ipsa hilarem Fortunae vultum semper experta, ne aviditate lucis tristem intueri cogar, reliquias spiritus mei prospero fine, duas filias et septem[39] nepotum gregem superstitem relictura, permuto.' cohortata deinde ad concordiam suos, distributo iis patrimonio et cultu suo sacrisque domesticis maiori filiae traditis, poculum in quo venenum temperatum erat constanti dextera arripuit. tum defusis Mercurio delibamentis et invocato numine eius, ut se placido itinere in meliorem sedis infernae deduceret partem, cupido haustu mortiferam traxit potionem, ac sermone significans quasnam subinde partes corporis sui rigor occuparet, cum iam visceribus eum et cordi imminere esset elocuta, filiarum manus ad supremum opprimendorum oculorum officium advocavit. nostros autem, tametsi novo spectaculo obstupefacti erant, suffusos tamen lacrimis dimisit.

9 Sed ut ad Massiliensium civitatem, unde in hoc deverticulum excessi, revertar, intrare oppidum eorum nulli cum telo licet, praestoque est qui id custodiae gratia acceptum exituro reddat, ut hospitia sua, quemadmodum advenientibus humana sunt, ita ipsis quoque tuta sint.

10 Horum moenia egresso vetus ille mos Gallorum occur-

[39] septem (vii) *Pighius*: uno* AL

out her intention. Having passed her ninetieth year in the soundest health of mind and body, she lay on her bed, which was spread, as far as might be perceived, more elegantly than every day, and resting on her elbow she spoke: "Sex. Pompeius, may the gods whom I am leaving rather than those to whom I am going repay you because you have not disdained to urge me to live nor yet to be witness of my death. As for me, I have always seen Fortune's smiling face. Rather than be forced through greed of living to see her frown, I am exchanging what remains of my breath for a happy end, leaving two daughters and a flock of seven (?) grandchildren to survive me." Then, having urged her family to live in harmony, she distributed her estate among them, and having consigned her own observance and the domestic rites to her elder daughter, she took the cup in which the poison had been mixed in a firm grasp. After pouring libations to Mercury and invoking his divine power, that he conduct her on a calm journey to the happier part of the underworld, she eagerly drained the fatal potion. She indicated in words the parts of her body which numbness seized one by one, and when she had told us that it was about to reach her vitals and heart, she summoned her daughters' hands to the last office, to close her eyes. As for us Romans, she dismissed us, stunned by so extraordinary a spectacle but bathed in tears.

However, to return to the Massilian community from which I strayed into this digression, none may enter their town with a weapon. A person is in attendance to take such for safe keeping and return it to its owner as he leaves. So their hospitality is both kindly to strangers and safe for themselves.

As I leave their walls, an old custom of the Gauls con-

rit, quo[s] memoria proditum est pecunias mutuas, quae iis apud inferos redderentur, da<ri soli>tas,[40] quia persuasum habuerint animas hominum immortales esse. dicerem stultos, nisi idem bracati sensissent quod palliatus Pythagoras credidit.

11 Avara et feneratoria Gallorum philosophia, alacris et fortis Cimbrorum et Celtiberorum, qui in acie gaudio exsultabant tamquam gloriose et feliciter vita excessuri, lamentabantur in morbo quasi turpiter et miserabiliter perituri. Celtiberi etiam nefas esse ducebant proelio superesse cum is occidisset pro cuius salute spiritum devoverant. laudanda utrorumque populorum animi praesentia, quod et <ambo>[41] patriae incolumitatem fortiter tuen<dam>[42] et <alteri>[43] fidem amicitiae constanter praestandam arbitrabantur.

12 Thraciae vero illa natio merito sibi sapientiae laudem vindicaverit, quae natales hominum flebiliter, exsequias cum hilaritate celebrat, <si>[44] sine ullis doctorum praeceptis verum condicionis nostrae habitum pervidit. removeatur itaque naturalis omnium animalium dulcedo vitae, quae multa et facere et pati turpiter cogit, si tamen ortu[45] eius aliquanto felicior ac beatior finis reperietur.

[40] *add. SB, duce Halm*: datas* AL [41] *add. SB*
[42] tuendam *Barth*: tueri AL
[43] *add. SB*3 [44] *add. SB*
[45] tamen ortu *Thormayer*: ea mortua* AL: iam ortu *Per.*

---

[11] Mela 3.19.

[12] Belief in metempsychosis: cf. Caes. *Bell. Gall.* 6.14.5, Lucan 1.454–57.

[13] Cic. *Tusc.* 2.65.

fronts me. Tradition has it that they were wont to make loans to be repaid in the underworld,[11] because they were persuaded that the souls of men are immortal. I should call them fools, were it not that they held the same conviction[12] in their breeches as Pythagoras in his cloak.

Greedy and usurious is the philosophy of the Gauls, brisk and brave that of the Cimbri and Celtiberians. In battle they used to exult in the prospect of leaving life in glory and good fortune, but in sickness they lamented as though about to perish in dishonour and misery.[13] The Celtiberians even thought it a sin to survive a battle in which the person for whose safety they had pledged their lives had fallen.[14] Praiseworthy is the ready courage[15] of both peoples, in that both thought that the safety of their fatherland should be stoutly defended and the second that friendship demanded unwavering loyalty.

Deservedly might that Thracian tribe claim credit for wisdom which celebrates men's birthdays with tears and their funerals with merriment.[16] Without any precepts from the learned, they perceived the true nature of our condition. So begone with the sweetness of life natural to all that breathes, which makes them do and suffer many things dishonourably, if none the less its end shall be found more happy and fortunate than its beginning.

[14] Plut. *Sert.* 14, Dio 53.20.3; similarly Caes. *Bell. Gall.* 3.22.3 of Aquitanians and Tac. *Ger.* 14.2 of Germans.

[15] *Praesentia animi,* a favourite expression of Valerius for prompt and courageous resolution; see now *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* X.2.854.37. *Praestantia* should not be substituted, as in some editions.

[16] Herod. 5.4 etc.

13 Quocirca recte Lycii, cum iis luctus incidit, muliebrem vestem induunt, ut deformitate cultus commoti maturius stultum proicere maerorem velint.

14 Verum quid ego fortissimos hoc in genere prudentiae viros laudem? respiciantur Indorum feminae, quae, cum more patrio complures eidem nuptae esse soleant, mortuo marito in certamen iudiciumque veniunt quam ex iis maxime dilexerit. victrix gaudio exsultans, deductaque a necessariis laetum praeferentibus vultum, coniugis se flammis superiacit et cum eo tamquam felicissima crematur; superatae cum tristitia et maerore in vita remanent. protrahe in medium Cimbricam audaciam, adice Celtibericam fidem, iunge animosam Thraciae [potentiam][46] sapientiam, adnecte Lyciorum in luctibus abiciendis callide quaesitam rationem, Indico tamen rogo nihil eorum praeferes, quem uxor‹ia›[47] pietas in modum genialis tori propinquae mortis secura conscendit.

15 Cuius gloriae Punicarum feminarum, ut ex comparatione turpius appareat, dedecus subnectam: Siccae enim fanum est Veneris, in quod se matronae conferebant atque inde procedentes ad quaestum dotes corporis iniuria contrahebant, honesta nimirum tam inhonesto vinculo coniugia iuncturae.

16 Nam Persarum admodum probabile institutum fuit, quod liberos suos non prius aspiciebant quam septimum

[46] potentiam* *del. Torr.* [47] *add.* ς

---

[17] Plut. *Moral.* 113A. [18] The Indian practice of suttee is often mentioned (Cic. *Tusc.* 5.78, Prop. 3.13.15–22 etc.). Similarly of the Thracians (Herod. 5.5, Mela 2.19).

[19] The cult of Astarte flourished in Sicca, called Sicca Veneria,

Therefore the Lycians are right to put on women's clothes when they have occasion to mourn, so that irked by the unsightliness of their dress they may the sooner wish to discard a foolish grief.[17]

But why should I praise the bravest of the male sex in connection with this sort of good sense? Let us look at the women of the Indians. By national custom a number are usually married to the same man, and when their husband dies they enter into contest and trial to decide which of them he loved the most. The exultant winner, escorted by her relatives and friends with joy in their faces, flings herself on her husband's flames and is cremated with him as though she were the happiest of her sex. The losers remain in life, gloomy and grieving. Bring forth Cimbrian daring, add Celtiberian loyalty, combine the courageous wisdom of Thrace, append the cunningly contrived method of the Lycians in casting off their mourning, yet none of these will you place above the Indian pyre, which wifely devotion caring nothing for imminent death ascends like a nuptial bed.[18]

To its glory I shall append the dishonour of Punic women that it may show uglier by comparison. At Sicca there is a temple of Venus where married women used to gather and issuing thence for gain to collect dowries by outraging their bodies, intending forsooth to link respectable wedlock by so disgraceful a bond.[19]

As for the Persians, they had a very commendable practice of not seeing their children until they had completed

also called Cirta Nova (*RE* IIA.2187.18ff.); hence Cirta in the epitomes. For the prostitution cf. Herod. 1.93, Justin 18.5, Aelian *Var. hist.* 4.1.

annum implessent, quo parvulorum amissionem aequiore animo sustinerent.

17 Ne Numidae quidem reges vituperandi, qui more gentis suae nulli mortalium osculum ferebant: quidquid enim in excelso fastigio positum est, humili et trita consuetudine, quo sit venerabilius, vacuum esse convenit.

7. DE DISCIPLINA MILITARI

praef. Venio nunc ad praecipuum decus et ad stabilimentum Romani imperii, salutari perseverantia ad hoc tempus sincerum et incolume servatum, militaris disciplinae tenacissimum vinculum, in cuius sinu ac tutela serenus tranquillusque beatae pacis status acquiescit.

1 P. Cornelius Scipio, cui deleta Carthago avitum cognomen dedit, consul in Hispaniam missus, ut insolentissimos Numantinae urbis spiritus superiorum ducum culpa nutritos contunderet, eodem momento temporis quo castra intravit, edixit ut omnia ex iis quae voluptatis causa comparata erant auferrentur ac summoverentur: nam constat tum maximum inde institorum et lixarum numerum cum duobus milibus scortorum abisse. hac turpi atque erubescenda sentina vacuefactus exercitus noster, qui paulo ante metu mortis deformi se foederis ictu maculaverat, erecta et recreata virtute acrem illam et animosam Numantiam, incendiis exustam ruinisque prostratam, solo aequavit. itaque neglectae disciplinae militaris indicium Mancini miserabilis deditio, servatae merces speciosissimus Scipionis triumphus exstitit.

---

[20] Herod. 1.136 (five years old), Strabo 733 (four years old).
[21] Not found elsewhere. [1] 134: Livy *Per.* 57 etc.

their seventh year, to the end that they bear their loss in infancy less hard.[20]

Nor are the kings of Numidia to be blamed, who following their national custom used to kiss no human being.[21] For whatever is placed on a lofty pinnacle should keep clear of low, familiar intercourse, that it may be the more revered.

7. OF MILITARY DISCIPLINE

I come now to the chief glory and mainstay of Roman empire, preserved intact and safe up to the present time with salutary steadfastness, the tenacious bond of military discipline, in the bosom and protection of which rests our serene and tranquil state of blessed peace.

P. Cornelius Scipio, to whom the destruction of Carthage gave his grandfather's surname, was sent to Spain as Consul to beat down the insolent pride of the city of Numantia, nourished by the fault of previous commanders. The moment he entered the camp he issued orders that all items assembled for pleasure be taken away and removed. For it is established that a great number of pedlars and sutlers then left the spot along with two thousand prostitutes. Emptied of this shocking and shameful bilge water, our army, which shortly before from fear of death had sullied itself by the conclusion of an unseemly treaty, now with valour raised and revived burned down and demolished that bold, high-hearted Numantia, levelling her with the ground. So the pitiable surrender of Mancinus became the evidence of military discipline neglected and the splendid triumph of Scipio the reward of the same preserved.[1]

2 Eius sectam Metellus secutus, cum exercitum in Africa Iugurthino bello nimia Sp. Albini indulgentia corruptum consul accepisset, omnibus imperii nervis ad revocandam pristinae disciplinam militiae conisus est: nec singulas partes apprehendit sed totam continuo in suum statum redegit: protinus namque lixas e castris summovit, cibumque coctum venalem proponi vetuit: in agmine neminem militum ministerio servorum iumentorumque, ut arma sua et alimenta ipsi ferrent, uti passus est: castrorum subinde locum mutavit: eadem, tamquam Iugurtha semper adesset, vallo fossaque aptissime cinxit. quid ergo restituta continentia, quid repetita industria profecit? crebras scilicet victorias et multa tropaea peperit ex eo hoste cuius tergum sub ambitioso imperatore Romano militi videre non contigerat.

3 Bene etiam illi disciplinae militari adfuerunt qui necessitudinum perruptis vinculis ultionem vindictamque laesae cum ignominia domuum suarum exigere non dubitaverunt: nam P. Rupilius consul eo bello, quod in Sicilia cum fugitivis gessit, Q. Fabium generum suum, quia neglegentia Tauromenitanam arcem amiserat, provincia iussit decedere.

4 C. Cotta ‹consul›[48] P. Aurelium Pecuniolam sanguine sibi iunctum, quem obsidioni Liparitanae ad auspicia repetenda Messanam transiturus praefecerat, virgis caesum militiae munere inter pedites fungi coegit, quod eius culpa

[48] *add. Gertz*

---

[2] 109: Sall. *Iug.* 44f. etc.

[3] Probably Eburnus, then Quaestor (132), not Allobrogicus; cf. Broughton I.499.n.1; but the arguments are not altogether conclusive. Cf. VM 6.9.4.

Metellus followed in his wake. Taking over as Consul an army in Africa during the Jugurthine War which had been corrupted by the overindulgence of Sp. Albinus, he strained every nerve of command to recall military discipline as it had formerly been. He did not catch hold of this part or that but brought the whole of it back to rights at one stroke. For he immediately banished sutlers from camp and forbade the exhibition of cooked food for sale. On the march he allowed no soldier to use the service of slaves or pack animals, making them carry their arms and rations themselves. He frequently moved his camps, and surrounded them with rampart and moat in the most approved style, as though Jugurtha were always close by. So what did the restoration of restraint and the renewal of strenuous service achieve? Why, it produced frequent victories and many trophies over an enemy whose back the Roman soldier had had no chance to see under a popularity-mongering commander.[2]

Those also gave good support to military discipline who, breaking family ties, did not hesitate to avenge and punish offences against the same, bringing therewith disgrace upon their own houses. For Consul P. Rupilius, in the war he waged against the runaways in Sicily, ordered his son-in-law Q. Fabius[3] to leave the province because he had lost the citadel of Tauromenium by his negligence.

Consul C. Cotta had left P. Aurelius Pecuniola, a blood relation, in charge of the siege of Lipara when crossing over to Messana to take new auspices, and through his fault the rampart was set on fire and the camp almost

agger incensus, paene castra erant capta.

5 Q. etiam Fulvius Flaccus censor Fulvium fratrem consortem, legionem, in qua tribunus militum erat, iniussu consulis domum dimittere ausum, senatu movit.

Non[49] digna exempla <quae>[50] tam breviter, nisi maioribus urguerer, referrentur: quid enim tam difficile factu quam copulatae societati generis et imaginum deformem in patriam reditum indicere, aut communioni nominis ac familiae veteris propinquitatis serie cohaerenti virgarum contumeliosa verbera adhibere, aut censorium supercilium adversus fraternam caritatem destringere?

Dentur haec singula quamvis claris civitatibus, abunde
6 tamen gloria disciplinae militaris instructae videbuntur: at nostra urbs, quae omni genere mirificorum exemplorum totum terrarum orbem replevit, imperatorum proprio sanguine manantes secures, ne turbato militiae ordine vindicta deesset, ex castris publice speciosas, privatim lugubres duplici vultu recepit, incerta gratulandi prius an alloquendi officio fungeretur. igitur ego quoque haesitante animo vos, bellicarum rerum severissimi custodes, Postumi Tuberte et Manli Torquate, memoria ac relatione complector, quia animadverto fore ut pondere laudis quam meruistis obrutus magis imbecillitatem ingenii mei dete-

[49] non ... referrentur *intra cruces Briscoe* [50] *add.* ς

---

[4] No other record except in [Front.] *Strat.* 4.1.31.

[5] They shared the family property. Q. Fulvius Flaccus was Censor in 174–3, but the matter is full of uncertainties; see Broughton I.391 n.3. [6] For A. Postumius Tubertus, Dictator in 431, Livy 4.29.5f. (discrediting the tradition), Diodor. 12.64.3,

taken. So Cotta had him flogged and made him serve in the infantry.[4]

Censor Q. Fulvius Flaccus too expelled Fulvius, his brother and coheritor,[5] from the senate because he had dared to send home the legion in which he was Military Tribune without the Consul's orders.

These examples did not deserve so brief a treatment were I not under pressure from others more important. For what harder to do than to pronounce upon a bond of common heritage and family masks an ignominious return to country, or to inflict humiliating lashes of rods upon a shared name and family linked by a line of ancient kinship, or to unsheath the censorial frown against brotherly affection?

Give any one of these to communities no matter how famous and they will seem amply furnished with the glory of military discipline. But our city, that has filled the entire globe with every kind of marvellous examples, received from camp axes streaming with commanders' own blood, shed lest punishment be wanting for disturbance of good military order, axes publicly shining, privately lugubrious; received them with dubious countenance, uncertain which duty to perform first, congratulation or condolence. Therefore I too, Postumius Tubertus and Manlius Torquatus,[6] strictest guardians of warlike concerns, feel hesitation as I include you in memorial narrative, because I perceive that overwhelmed by the weight of the glory you have deserved I shall reveal the insufficiency of my abili-

Gell. 17.21.17. For the more famous affair of Torquatus (340) see Livy 8.7 and numerous references in Broughton I.136f. Note Valerius' nonsequential "therefore."

gam quam vestram virtutem, sicut par est, repraesentem. tu namque, Postumi, dictator A. Postumium, quem ad generis penetraliumque sacrorum successionem propagandam genueras, cuius infantiae blandimenta sinu atque osculis foveras, quem puerum litteris, quem iuvenem armis instruxeras, sanctum fortem amantem tui pariter ac patriae, quia non tuo iussu, sed sua sponte praesidio progressus hostes fuderat, victorem securi feriri iussisti, et ad hoc peragendum imperium paternae vocis ministerio sufficere valuisti: nam oculos tuos certum scio clarissima in luce tenebris offusos ingens animi opus intueri nequivisse. tu item, [Postumi][51] Torquate, Latino bello consul filium, quod provocatus a Gemino Maecio, duce Tusculanorum, ad dimicandum te ignaro descenderat, gloriosam victoriam et speciosa spolia referentem abripi a lictore et in modum hostiae mactari iussisti, satius esse iudicans patrem forti filio quam patriam militari disciplina carere.

7 Age, quanto spiritu putamus usum L. Quinctium Cincinnatum dictatorem eo tempore quo devictis Aequiculis et sub iugum missis L. Minucium consulatum deponere coegit, quod castra eius iidem hostes obsederant? indignum enim maximo imperio credidit quem non sua virtus sed fossa vallumque tutum praestiterat, cuique verecundiae non fuerat arma Romana metu trepida clausis portis contineri. ergo imperiosissimi duodecim fasces, penes quos senatus et equestris ordinis et universae plebis summum decus erat, quorumque nutu Latium ac totius

[51] Postumi LG: Manli A *corr.*: *del. Kempf*

---

7 458: Livy 3.29.2f., Dion. Hal. 10.25.

ties rather than present your virtue in its proper light. For you, Dictator Postumius, had a son, A. Postumius, whom you had begotten to propagate the succession of your line and inmost rites, whose infant blandishments you had fostered in your bosom with kisses, taught him letters as a boy, arms as a young man, blameless, brave, loving you as he loved his country: but because he went forth from his post and routed the enemy of his own motion and not by your bidding, you ordered the victor to be beheaded and your fortitude availed to the using of your paternal voice for the execution of this command; for I am well assured that your eyes, overspread with darkness in broadest day, could not look upon the mighty work of your spirit. You, likewise, Torquatus, Consul in the Latin war, ordered your son to be seized by a lictor and slaughtered like a sacrificial victim as he was bringing back a glorious victory and splendid spoils, because being challenged by Geminus Maecius, leader of the Tusculans, he had gone out to combat without your knowledge. You judged it better that a father should lose a brave son than that the fatherland should lose military discipline.

And now, how high a spirit, think we, had Dictator L. Quinctius Cincinnatus when, after defeating the Aequiculi and sending them under the yoke, he obliged L. Minucius to lay down his Consulship because the same enemies had besieged his camp?[7] For he held a man unworthy of the highest command whom moat and rampart had protected, not his own valour, and who had felt no shame that Roman arms be kept in terror behind closed gates. So the lordly twelve fasces, in whom resided the highest glory of the senate and the order of knights and the entire people and by whose nod Latium and the powers of all Italy were

Italiae vires regebantur, contusi atque fracti dictatoriae se animadversioni substraverunt: ac, ne inulta foret laesa gloria militaris, consul delicti omnis vindex punitus est.

His, ut ita dicam, piaculis, Mars, imperii nostri pater, ubi aliqua ex parte a tuis auspiciis degeneratum erat, numen tuum propitiabatur, adfinium et cognatorum et fratrum nota, filiorum strage, ignominiosa consulum eiuratione.

8 Eiusdem ordinis quod sequitur. Papirius dictator, cum adversus imperium eius Q. Fabius Rullianus magister equitum exercitum in aciem eduxisset, quamquam fusis Samnitibus in castra redierat, tamen neque virtute eius neque successu neque nobilitate motus virgas expediri eumque nudari iussit. o spectaculum admirabile! et Rullianus et magister equitum et victor scissa veste spoliatoque corpore lictorum se verberibus lacerandum praebuit, ut in acie exceptorum vulnerum nodosis ictibus cruore renovato victoriarum, quas modo speciosissimas erat adeptus, titulos respergeret. precibus deinde suis exercitus occasionem Fabio confugiendi in urbem dedit, ubi frustra senatus auxilium imploravit: nihilo minus enim Papirius in exigenda poena perseveravit. itaque coactus est pater eius post dictaturam tertiumque consulatum rem ad populum devocare, auxiliumque tribunorum plebis supplex pro filio petere. neque hac re severitas Papirii refrenari potuit. ceterum, cum ab universis civibus et ipsis tribunis plebis

---

[8] 325. Livy 8.30–36 etc.

[9] M. Fabius Ambustus, Dictator in 351.

governed, bruised and broken abased themselves before dictatorial correction. And lest harm done to military glory go unpunished, a Consul, chastiser of every offence, was punished.

Such, Mars, father of our empire, were the expiations, if I may so term them, by which your divinity was propitiated when there had been in some degree a degeneration from your auspices: censure of marriage and blood relatives and brothers, slaughter of sons, ignominious abdication of Consuls.

What follows is of the same order. Dictator Papirius ordered rods made ready and Master of Horse Q. Fabius Rullianus stripped naked because he had led out the army against his, the Dictator's, orders.[8] Although he had routed the Samnites and returned to camp, neither his valour nor his success nor his noble birth swayed the Dictator. An extraordinary spectacle! A Rullianus, a Master of the Horse, a victor, with torn raiment and stripped body, offered himself to be lacerated by lictors' lashes, so as to bespatter the titles of victories just most gloriously gained with blood of wounds received in battle and now renewed by knotty blows. Then the army by its entreaties gave him the chance to flee to Rome, where he vainly appealed to the senate for help; for none the less did Papirius insist on exacting the punishment. So Fabius' father,[9] who had held a Dictatorship and three Consulships, was forced to bring the matter down to the people and supplicate the aid of the Tribunes of the Plebs on behalf of his son. Nor could Papirius' severity be reined back thereby. However, when begged by the entire citizen body and the Tribunes of the Plebs them-

rogaretur, testatus est se poenam illam non Fabio sed populo et tribuniciae concedere potestati.

9 L. quoque Calpurnius Piso consul, cum in Sicilia bellum adversus fugitivos gereret et C. Titius equitum praefectus [fugitivorum][52] multitudine hostium circumventus arma iis tradidisset, his praefectum ignominiae generibus adfecit: iussit eum toga laciniis abscisis amictum, discinctaque tunica indutum, nudis pedibus a mane in noctem usque ad principia per omne tempus militiae adesse; interdixit etiam ei convictum hominum usumque balnearum, turmasque equitum quibus praefuerat ademptis equis in funditorum alas transcripsit. magnum profecto dedecus patriae p⟨ar⟩i sontium[53] dedecore vindicatum est, quoniam quidem id egit Piso ut qui cupiditate vitae adducti cruce dignissimis fugitivis tropaea de se statuere concesserant, libertatique suae servili manu flagitiosum imponi iugum non erubuerant, amarum lucis usum experirentur, mortemque quam effeminate timuerant[54] viriliter optarent.

10 Nec minus Pisone acriter Q. Metellus. qui, cum apud Contrebiam res gereretur, collocatas a se in quadam statione quinque cohortes atque ex ea viribus hostium depulsas repetere eandem stationem e vestigio iussit, non quod speraret ab iis amissum locum recuperari posse, sed ut praeteritae culpam pugnae insequentis certaminis manifesto periculo puniret. edixit etiam ut si quis ex iis fugiens

[52] *del.* A *corr.* [53] pari sontium *Kempf*: pisonium* AL
[54] timuerant ς: -runt AL

---

[10] Frugi, in 133: cf. VM 4.3.10. Only [Front.] *Strat.* 4.1.26 has this, doubtless from Valerius.

selves, he solemnly declared that he remitted the sentence, not to Fabius but to the people and the tribunician power.

Consul L. Calpurnius Piso[10] also, when he was waging war in Sicily against the runaways and C. Titius, Prefect of cavalry, being surrounded by a large number of enemies, surrendered his arms to them, imposed the following forms of humiliation upon the Prefect. He ordered him to be on duty at headquarters throughout the period of his service from daybreak to nightfall, barefoot and dressed in a gown from which the fringes had been cut off and an ungirt tunic. He also forbade him human society and the use of baths, and deprived the squadrons of horse whom he had commanded of their mounts and transferred them to the units of slingers. To be sure, a great national disgrace was avenged by corresponding disgrace of the guilty. It was Piso's design that persons who out of desire for life had allowed runaways worthy of crucifixion to set up trophies on their account and had not blushed to let servile hands put an ignominious yoke upon their freedom should find life a bitter thing and pray like men for the death they had feared like women.

No less stern than Piso's was the action of Q. Metellus.[11] While he was campaigning at Contrebia, five cohorts whom he had stationed at a certain post were driven from it by enemy strength. Metellus ordered them to attack the same post immediately, not because he hoped that the position they had lost could be recovered but to punish the fault of the former engagement by the evident peril of the struggle that would follow. He also gave a public order that

11 Macedonicus in 143: Vell. 2.5.2f. etc.

castra petisset, pro hoste interficeretur. qua severitate compressi milites, et corporibus fatigatis et animis desperatione vitae implicatis, loci tamen iniquitatem multitudinemque hostium superarunt. humanae igitur imbecillitatis efficacissimum duramentum est necessitas.

11 In eadem provincia Q. Fabius Maximus, ferocissimae gentis animos contundere et debilitare cupiens, mansuetissimum ingenium suum, ad tempus deposita clementia, saeviore[55] uti severitate coegit: omnium enim qui ex praesidiis Romanorum ad hostes transfugerant, captique erant, manus abscidit, ut trunca prae se bracchia gestantes metum defectionis reliquis inicerent. rebelles itaque manus a corporibus suis distractae inque cruentato solo sparsae ceteris ne idem committere auderent documento fuerunt.

12 Nihil mitius superiore Africano. is tamen ad firmandam disciplinam militarem aliquid ab alienissima sibi crudelitate amaritudinis mutuandum existimavit; si quidem devicta Carthagine, cum omnes qui ex nostris exercitibus ad Poenos transierant, in suam potestatem redegisset, gravius in Romanos quam in Latinos transfugas animadvertit: hos enim tamquam patriae fugitivos crucibus adfixit, illos tamquam perfidos socios securi percussit. non prosequar hoc factum ulterius, et quia Scipionis est et quia Romano sanguini, quamvis merito, perpesso servile supplicium insultare non attinet, cum praesertim transire ad ea liceat quae sine domestico vulnere gesta narrari possunt.

13 Nam posterior Africanus everso Punico imperio exte-

[55] saeviore ς: severi- AL; Br

---

12 Servilianus in 141/140: App. *Ib.* 68, Oros. 5.4.12.
13 201: Livy 30.43.13.

any man of them who made back for camp in flight should be killed as an enemy. Daunted by such severity, the soldiers, though their bodies were weary and their minds seized with despair of life, yet overcame the adversity of the ground and the number of the enemy. Thus the most effective hardener of human weakness is necessity.

In the same province Q. Fabius Maximus,[12] desiring to crush and enfeeble the spirit of a fierce people, forced his most merciful nature into severity somewhat cruel, laying clemency aside for the time being. For he cut off the hands of all who had deserted from the Roman ranks to the enemy and been taken prisoner, so that bearing their mutilated arms before them they should strike fear of defection into the rest. So the renegade hands torn free from their bodies and scattered on the bloody ground were a warning to others not to dare to make the same mistake.

The elder Africanus was the mildest of men. Yet for the confirmation of military discipline he thought proper to borrow some harshness from a cruelty quite alien to himself. When he had conquered Carthage and brought into his power all those who had deserted from our armies to the Carthaginians, he punished the Roman deserters more severely than the Latins, crucifying the former as runaways from their country and beheading the latter as faithless allies.[13] I shall not pursue this action farther, both because it is Scipio's and because there is no need to insult Roman blood that suffered the punishment of slaves, however well deserved, especially as I am free to pass to doings which can be narrated without injury to national sentiment.

The younger Africanus after overturning the Punic em-

rarum gentium transfugas in edendis populo spectaculis
14 feris bestiis obiecit, et L. Paullus, Perse rege superato, eiusdem generis et culpae homines elephantis proterendos substravit, utilissimo quidem exemplo, si tamen acta excellentissimorum virorum humiliter aestimare sine insolentiae reprehensione permittitur: aspero enim et absciso castigationis genere militaris disciplina indiget, quia vires armis constant; quae ubi a recto tenore desciverint, oppressura sunt nisi opprimantur.

15a Sed tempus est eorum quoque mentionem fieri quae iam non a singulis verum ab universo senatu pro militari more obtinendo defendendoque administrata sunt.

L. Marcius tribunus militum, cum reliquias duorum exercituum P. et Cn. Scipionum, quos arma Punica in Hispania absumpserant, dispersas mira virtute collegisset earumque suffragiis dux esset creatus, senatui de rebus actis a se scribens in hunc modum orsus est: 'L. Marcius pro praetore.' cuius honoris usurpatione uti eum patribus conscriptis non placuit, quia duces a populo, non a militibus creari solerent. quo tempore tam iniusto[56] [tam gravi][57] propter immane rei publicae damnum etiam tribuno[58] militum adulandum[59] erat, quoniam quidem ad statum totius civitatis corrigendum unus suffecerat. sed nulla clades, nullum meritum valentius militari disciplina fuit.

15b Succurrebat enim illis quam animosa severitate Tarentino bello maiores eorum usi fuissent; in quo quassatis et

[56] angusto* ς [57] *secl. SB*
[58] tribuno *SB*: -nis AL: -nus A *corr.*
[59] adulandum AG, L. *corr.*: -dus A *corr.*, L

---

[14] 146: Livy *Per.* 51. [15] 168: not found elsewhere.

pire threw deserters of other than Roman nationality to wild beasts in the shows he exhibited for the people.[14] And L. Paullus after defeating king Perseus laid persons of like nationality and guilt in front of elephants to be trampled.[15] A very salutary example, if one may be allowed to judge the actions of outstanding men in all humility without rebuke for insolence. For military discipline requires a harsh, brusque sort of punishment because strength consists in arms, and when these stray from the right path they will crush unless they be crushed.

But it is time to mention measures taken not by individuals but by the whole senate for the maintenance and defence of military custom.

L. Marcius, Military Tribune, with amazing initiative gathered the scattered remnants of Publius and Gnaeus Scipio's two armies which Punic arms in Spain had swallowed up and was appointed commander by their votes. In reporting his actions to the senate he began thus: "L. Marcius Propraetor." The Conscript Fathers did not approve of his assumption and use of that rank, on the ground that commanders were customarily appointed by the people, not the soldiers. At so grievous a crisis resulting from an enormous public loss even a Military Tribune deserved adulation, since he had singly proved capable of putting to rights the state of the whole community. But no disaster, no deserts were stronger than military discipline.[16]

They remembered the high-hearted severity of their ancestors in the Tarentine War, in which the might of the commonwealth had been shaken and worn down. Having

[16] 211: Livy 26.2.1–4.

attritis rei publicae viribus, cum magnum captivorum civium suorum numerum a Pyrrho rege ultro missum recepissent, decreverunt ut ex iis qui equo meruerant peditum numero militarent, qui pedites fuerant in funditorum auxilia transcriberentur, neve quis eorum intra castra tenderet, neve locum extra adsignatum vallo aut fossa cingeret. neve tentorium ex pellibus haberet. recursum autem iis ad pristinum militiae ordinem proposuerunt, si quis bina spolia ex hostibus ‹ret›ulisset.[60] quibus suppliciis compressi ex deformibus Pyrrhi munusculis acerrimi hostes exstiterunt.

15c Parem iram senatus adversus illos destrinxit qui apud Cannas rem publicam deseruerant: nam cum eos gravitate decreti ultra mortuorum condicionem relegasset, acceptis a M. Marcello litteris, ut eorum sibi opera ad expugnationem Syracusarum uti liceret, rescripsit indignos esse qui in castra reciperentur; ceterum se ei permittere ut faceret quod expedire rei publicae iudicasset, dum ne quis ex iis munere vacaret aut dono militiae[61] donaretur, aut in Italiam, donec hostes in ea essent, accederet. sic enerves animos odisse virtus solet.

15d Age, quam graviter senatus tulit quod Q. Petillium consulem fortissime adversus Ligures pugnantem occidere milites passi essent! legioni neque stipendium anni procedere neque aera dari voluit, quia pro salute imperatoris hostium se telis non obtulerant, idque decretum am-

[60] *add. Nepot.* (retu-) [61] militari P

---

[17] 279: Eutrop. 2.13.2.

[18] 216: Livy 25.5.10–7.4 etc. "Deserted" is unfair, perhaps a confusion (cf. VM 2.9.8).

received a large number of their fellow countrymen sent back by king Pyrrhus of his own motion, they decreed as follows: those of them who had served in the cavalry should serve as infantry, those who had been foot soldiers should be transferred to the auxiliary slingers, none of them should pitch tent inside a camp nor surround any place assigned to him outside with rampart or moat, nor have a tent made of skins. They did, however, hold out to them a return to their former order of service if any should bring in two sets of euemy spoils. Daunted by these punishments, Pyrrhus' ugly little presents turned into his keenest foes.[17]

The senate unsheathed equal wrath against those who had deserted the commonwealth at Cannae.[18] Having by the severity of its decree relegated them to a condition beyond the grave, it received a letter from M. Marcellus requesting permission to use their services in the siege of Syracuse. It replied that they were unworthy to be admitted into a camp; however, it would allow him to take whatever action he thought to be in the public interest, provided that none of them be exempted from service, or given a military award, or return to Italy so long as enemies were within its boundaries. So does courage hate craven souls.

Now see how indignant waxed the senate that his soldiers had let Consul L. Petillius die fighting gallantly against the Ligurians. It ordained that the legion's annual pay be stopped and no other pay be given them because they had not exposed themselves to the enemy's weapons to save their commander's life.[19] That decree of the most

[19] Cf. VM 1.5.9. [Front.] *Strat.* 4.1.46 borrowed.

plissimi ordinis speciosum et aeternum Petillii monumentum exstitit, sub quo in acie morte in curia ultione clari cineres eius acquiescunt.

15e Consimili animo, cum ei Hannibal sex milium Romanorum, quae capta in castris habebat, redimendorum potestatem fecisset, condicionem sprevit, memor tantam multitudinem armatorum iuvenum, si honeste mori voluisset, turpiter capi non potuisse. quorum nescio utrum maius dedecus fuerit quod patria spei an quod hostis metus nihil in iis reposuerit, haec ‹ut›[62] pro se, ille ne adversus se dimicarent parvi ducendo.

15f Sed cum aliquotiens senatus pro militari disciplina severe excubuerit, nescio an tum praecipue cum milites qui Regium iniusto bello occupaverant, mortuoque duce Vibellio[63] M. Caesium scribam eius sua sponte imperatorem delegerant, carcere inclusit, ac M. Furio Flacco tribuno plebis denuntiante ne in cives Romanos adversus morem maiorum animadverteret, nihilo minus propositum exsecutus est. ceterum quo minore cum invidia id perageretur, quinquagenos per singulos dies virgis caesos securi percuti iussit, eorumque corpora sepulturae mandari mortemque lugeri vetuit.

ext. 1 Leniter hoc patres conscripti, si Carthaginiensium se-

[62] *add. Per.* [63] Vibellio A *corr.*: Iubellio P: Bubil(l)io AL

---

[20] 216, after Cannae: Polyb. 6.58, Livy 22.58.6–61.10, with discrepancies about the number. [21] Stationed in the town as garrison in 282, they took possession of it for themselves (Broughton I.189). [22] AL and Paris read Furius. Fulvius, Pighius' conjecure, read in G and universally, is identified with the

noble order was a splendid and everlasting monument to Petillius, under which his ashes rest, made illustrious by death on the battlefield and vengeance in the senate house.

With like spirit the senate spurned Hannibal's offer when he gave them the opportunity to ransom six thousand Romans held prisoner in his camp,[20] bearing in mind that so large a number of armed men of military age could not have been disgracefully taken prisoner if they had chosen to die honourably. I know not which was their greater infamy, that their country put no hope in them or the enemy no fear; their fighting for the one and against the other mattered little to either.

More than once has the senate shown itself strict and vigilant on behalf of military discipline, but perhaps most notably when it threw into gaol the soldiers who in wrongful warfare had seized Regium[21] under the leadership of Vibellius and of their own accord chosen his secretary M. Caesius as their leader after his death. When Tribune of the Plebs M. Furius[22] Flaccus pronounced that punishment should not be executed upon Roman citizens against ancestral custom, it none the less carried out its intention. But to reduce scandal, it ordered that each day fifty should be flogged and beheaded and forbade that their bodies be given burial or their death mourned.[23]

EXTERNAL

This action of the Conscript Fathers was mild if we care

consul of 264. But Furius is unlikely to be wrong, chiming with Cic. *Q.fr.* 2.6(5).2 *M. Furium Flaccum, equitem Romanum.*

[23] 270: Livy *Per.* 15 (Broughton I.199).

natus in militiae negotiis procurandis violentiam intueri velimus; a quo duces bella pravo consilio gerentes, etiam si prospera fortuna subsecuta esset, cruci tamen suffigebantur, quod bene gesserant deorum immortalium adiutorio, quod male commiserant ipsorum culpae imputante.[64]

ext. 2 Clearchus vero Lacedaemoniorum dux egregio dicto disciplinam militiae continebat, identidem exercitus sui auribus inculcando a militibus imperatorem potius quam hostem metui debere. quo aperte denuntiabat futurum ut spiritum poenae impenderent quem pugnae [acceptum ferre][65] dubitassent. idque a duce praecipi non mirabantur, maternarum blanditiarum memores quibus exituri[66] ad proeliandum monebantur ut aut vivi cum armis in conspectum earum venirent aut mortui in armis referrentur. hoc intra domesticos parietes accepto signo Spartanae acies dimicabant. sed aliena prospexisse tantummodo satis est, cum propriis multoque uberioribus et felicioribus exemplis gloriari liceat.

8

praef. Disciplina militaris acriter retenta principatum Italiae Romano imperio peperit, multarum urbium, magnorum regum, validissimarum gentium, regimen largita est, fauces Pontici sinus patefecit, Alpium Taurique montis convulsa claustra tradidit, ortumque e parvula Romuli casa to-

[64] inputante *Foertsch*: -ntes* AL: -ndo ς
[65] acceptum ferre* *om.* ς
[66] quibus exituri ς: quae eis (quaeis A) exituris AL; Br

to look at the violence of the Carthaginian senate in ordering military affairs. By its command generals who mismanaged campaigns were crucified even if fortune had turned in their favour. It attributed their success to the aid of the immortal gods, their mistakes to their own fault.[24]

Clearchus, the Lacedaemonian commander, held military discipline together with a notable saying, from time to time impressing upon his army's ears that a general should be more feared than the enemy by his soldiers.[25] Thus he gave plain notice that if they hesitated to owe their lives to combat they would yield them up to punishment. They were not surprised at the general's precept, remembering the maternal coaxing[26] whereby those going forth to battle were told to come back to their mothers' sight alive with their shields or be brought back upon them dead. That was the watchword the Spartan warriors received within the walls of their homes before they fought. But it suffices to have just taken a look at alien material since we can boast examples of our own far more copious and fruitful.

8

Military discipline jealously conserved won the leadership of Italy for Roman empire, bestowed rule over many cities, great kings, mighty nations, opened the jaws of the Pontic gulf, handed over the shattered barriers of the Alps and Taurus, made it from its origin in Romulus' little

[24] Livy 38.48.13; cf. VM 7.3.ext.7.

[25] Xen. *Anab.* 2.6.10.

[26] The word is ironical. Valerius assumes unwarrantably that the soldiers would also be Spartans.

tius terrarum orbis fecit columen. ex cuius sinu quoniam omnes triumphi manarunt, sequitur ut de triumphandi iure dicere incipiam.

DE IURE TRIUMPHI

1 Ob levia proelia quidam imperatores triumphos sibi decerni desiderabant. quibus ut occurreretur, lege cautum est ne quis triumpharet nisi qui quinque milia hostium una acie cecidisset: non enim numero sed gloria triumphorum excelsius urbis nostrae futurum decus maiores existimabant. ceterum ne tam praeclara lex cupiditate laureae oblitteraretur, legis alterius adiutorio fulta est, quam L. Marius et M. Cato tribuni plebis tulerunt: poenam enim imperatoribus minatur qui aut hostium occisorum in proelio aut amissorum civium falsum numerum litteris senatui ausi essent referre, iubetque eos, cum primum urbem intrassent, apud quaestores urbanos iurare de utroque numero vere ab iis senatui esse scriptum.

2 Post has leges iudicii illius tempestiva mentio introducetur in quo de iure triumphandi inter clarissimas personas et actum et excussum est. C. Lutatius consul [Catulus][67] et Q. Valerius praetor circa Siciliam insignem Poenorum classem deleverant, quo nomine Lutatio consuli triumphum senatus decrevit. cum autem Valerius sibi quoque eum decerni desideraret, negavit id fieri oportere Lutatius, ne in honore triumphi minor potestas maiori aequaretur, pertinaciusque progressa contentione Vale-

[67] *om.* P

---

[1] The *casa Romuli*. There seem to have been two, one on the Palatine and one on the Capitol: See K. W. Gransden on Virg. *Aen.* 8.654 (ed. Cambridge, 1976).

cottage[1] into the summit of the entire globe. Since all triumphs flowed from discipline's bosom, it follows that I proceed to speak of triumphal law.

OF TRIUMPHAL LAW

Certain generals wished triumphs decreed them for insignificant battles. To oppose them, it was enacted by law that no one should triumph who had not killed five thousand of the enemy in a single engagement.[2] For our ancestors held that the dignity of our city would be heightened not by the number of triumphs but by their glory. And lest so excellent a law be effaced by greed for laurels, it was propped up by another law, put through by Tribunes of the Plebs L. Marius and M. Cato.[3] It threatens with a penalty generals who venture in dispatches to report to the senate a false number either of enemies killed in battle or of citizens lost, and requires that as soon as they enter the city they take an oath before the City Quaestors that both numbers have been stated by them to the senate truthfully.

After these laws it will be opportune to mention a trial in which triumphal law was canvassed and thrashed out between persons of the highest quality. Consul C. Lutatius and Praetor Q. Valerius had annihilated a major Punic fleet off Sicily,[4] on which account the senate decreed a triumph to Consul Lutatius. When Valerius wanted it decreed to himself also, Lutatius said that would be improper, for the higher authority should not be put on a level with the lower in the honour of a triumph. The dispute was pertinaciously

[2] Oros. 5.4.7. The date of the law is unknown.

[3] In 62.

[4] At the battle of the Aegatian islands in 242.

rius sponsione Lutatium provocavit, ni[68] suo ductu Punica classis esset oppressa, nec dubitavit restipulari Lutatius. itaque iudex inter eos convenit Atilius Calatinus, apud quem Valerius in hunc modum egit, consulem ea pugna in lectica claudum iacuisse, se autem omnibus imperatoris partibus functum. tunc Calatinus, prius quam Lutatius causam suam ordiretur, 'quaero' inquit, 'Valeri, a te, si dimicandum necne esset contrariis inter vos sententiis dissedissetis, utrum quod consul an quod praetor imperasset maius habiturum fuerit momentum.' respondit Valerius non facere se controversiam quin priores partes consulis essent futurae. 'age deinde' inquit Calatinus, 'si diversa auspicia accepissetis, cuius magis auspicio staretur?' 'item' respondit Valerius 'consulis.' 'iam hercules' inquit, 'cum de imperio et auspicio inter vos disceptationem susceperim, et tu utroque adversarium tuum superiorem fuisse fatearis, nihil est quod ulterius dubitem. itaque, Lutati, quamvis adhuc tacueris, secundum te litem do.' mirifice iudex, quod in manifesto negotio tempus teri passus non est: probabilius Lutatius, quod ius amplissimi honoris constanter defendit: sed ne Valerius quidem improbe, quia fortis et prosperae pugnae ut non legitimum ita <non immeritum>[69] praemium petiit.

3 Quid facias Cn. Fulvio Flacco, qui tam expetendum aliis triumphi honorem decretum sibi a senatu ob res bene gestas sprevit ac repudiavit, nimirum non plura praecer-

[68] ni ς: nisi AL [69] *add SB*[1]: *lacunam Kempf;* Br

---

[5] The usual procedure in a civil action.

[6] On this historically dubious account see *RE* VIIIA.2f.

pursued. Valerius challenged Lutatius with a wager,[5] "if the Punic fleet had not been destroyed under his own leadership." Lutatius did not hesitate to stipulate in response. So Atilius Calatinus was appointed judge by agreement between the parties. At the hearing Valerius took the line that the Consul had been lying lame in his litter during that battle and he himself had fulfilled all responsibilities of command. Then Calatinus spoke, before Lutatius opened his case: "Tell me, Valerius, if you two had disagreed as to whether battle should be joined or not, taking opposite views, which would have counted more, the Consul's orders or the Praetor's?" Valerius replied that he was not disputing that the Consul would have taken precedence. "Next now," said Calatinus, "supposing you had taken differing auspices, whose auspice would rather have been followed?" "Likewise, the Consul's," answered Valerius. "Really now," said Calatinus, "since I have taken it upon me to adjudicate between you about command and auspices and you acknowledge that your opponent was superior in both, I can have no further doubts. Therefore, Lutatius, though you have said nothing so far, I give judgment in your favour."[6] All credit to the judge for not letting time be wasted in a clear case. More commendation to Lutatius for stoutly defending the rights of the highest authority. But no blame to Valerius either for seeking a reward for a gallant and successful action, not undeserved though not legally due.

What is to be done with Cn. Fulvius Flaccus, who spurned and rejected the honour of a triumph, so coveted by others, when it was decreed to him by the senate for

pens[70] quam acciderunt? nam ut urbem intravit, continuo quaestione publica adflictus exsilio multatus est, ut si quid religionis insolentia commisisset, poena expiaret.

4 Sapientiores igitur Q. Fulvius, qui Capua capta, et L. Opimius, qui Fregellanis ad deditionem compulsis, triumphandi potestatem a senatu petierunt, uterque editis operibus magnificus sed neuter petitae rei compos, non quidem invidia patrum conscriptorum, cui numquam aditum in curia⟨m⟩[71] esse voluerunt, sed summa diligentia observandi iuris, quo cautum erat ut pro aucto imperio, non pro recuperatis[72] quae populi Romani fuissent, triumphus decerneretur: tantum enim interest adicias aliquid an detractum restituas quantum distat beneficii initium ab iniuriae fine.

5 Quin etiam ius de quo loquor sic custoditum est ut P. Scipioni ob recuperatas Hispanias, M. Marcello ob captas Syracusas triumphus non decerneretur, quod ad eas res gerendas sine ullo erant missi magistratu. probentur nunc cuiuslibet gloriae cupidi, qui ex desertis montibus myoparonumque piraticis rostris laudis inopes laureae ramulos festinabunda manu decerpserunt: Carthaginis imperio abrupta Hispania et Siciliae caput abscisum triumphales iungere currus nequiverunt. et quibus viris? Scipioni et

[70] praecerpens* AL: -cipiens ς [71] *add. Stanger*
[72] pro recuperatis ς: pro reciperata* AL: ob recuperatum G

---

[7] Livy 26.2.7 and Broughton I.271 n.2. But the story of the rejected triumph seems to be garbled: no Cn. Fulvius Flaccus other than the Praetor of 212 is on record and he will not fit.

[8] Amm. Marc. 25.9.10. Capua was taken by Fulvius in 211, Fregellae by Opimius in 125. Both had revolted from Rome.

military success? One might say he anticipated no more than actually befell. For just as soon as he entered the city, he was condemned in a public trial and punished with exile. Thus if in his insolence he offended religion, he expiated it with his penalty.[7]

Wiser then were Q. Fulvius and L. Opimius, who petitioned from the senate the power to triumph after taking Capua and forcing the people of Fregellae to surrender respectively.[8] Both had fine achievements to boast, but neither gained his point: not from jealousy on the part of the Conscript Fathers, who would never allow such a sentiment access to their house, but from utmost care to observe the law, which provided that a triumph be decreed for augmentation of empire, not for recovery of what had belonged to the Roman people. For there is as much difference between adding something and restoring what has been taken away as between the beginning of a benefaction and the end of an injury.

Indeed the law of which I speak was so well guarded that no triumph was decreed to P. Scipio[9] for the recovery of the Spains or to M. Marcellus[10] for the capture of Syracuse because they had been sent to conduct these operations without any magistracy. Now let approval be given to glory hunters (any glory) who have plucked with hurrying hand sprigs of laurel destitute of renown from desert mountains and the beaks of pirate galleys: Spain torn from Carthage's empire and Syracuse, the head of Sicily, cut off could not yoke triumphal cars. And for what

9 Livy 28.38.4.

10 Marcellus was Proconsul and the triumph was denied for a different reason; but he was allowed an ovation (Livy 26.21.1–4).

Marcello, quorum ipsa nomina instar aeterni sunt triumphi. sed clarissimos solidae veraeque virtutis auctores umeris suis salutem patriae gestantes, etsi coronatos intueri senatus cupiebat, veriori tamen reservandos laureae putavit.

6 His illud subnectam: moris est ab imperatore ducturo triumphum consules invitari ad cenam, deinde rogari ut venire supersedeant, ne quis eo die quo ille triumpharit maioris in eodem convivio sit imperii.

7 Verum quamvis quis praeclaras res maximeque utiles rei publicae civili bello gessisset, imperator tamen eo nomine appellatus non est, neque ullae supplicationes decretae sunt, neque aut ovans aut curru triumphavit, quia ut necessariae istae, ita lugubres semper existimatae sunt victoriae, utpote non externo sed domestico partae cruore. itaque et Nasica Ti. Gracchi et Gaii Opimius[73] factiones maesti trucidarunt. Q. Catulus, M. Lepido collega suo cum omnibus seditiosis copiis exstincto, vultu[74] moderatum prae se ferens gaudium in urbem revertit. C. etiam Antonius, Catilinae victor, abstersos gladios in castra rettulit. L. Cinna et C. Marius hauserant quidem avidi civilem sanguinem, sed non protinus ad templa deorum et aras tetenderunt. iam L. Sulla, qui plurima bella civilia confecit,

[73] *sic SB*: Gracchum et G. Metellus Opimi* AL
[74] vultu *Watt*[4]: que tum* L: qui tum G: tantum A *corr.*

---

[11] Plut. *Moral.* 283A.

[12] Cf. Cic. *Phil.* 14.22–4, Lucan 1.12.

[13] The manuscript reading *G. Metellus Opimi* is corrupt. C. Gracchus should be in the picture and even Valerius cannot have forgotten that he and his following were suppressed by Opimius

men! Scipio and Marcellus, whose very names are like an everlasting triumph. But though the senate would fain have seen them crowned, the most illustrious representatives of true, sterling virtue, bearing their country's welfare on their shoulders, it thought they should be reserved for a more legitimate laurel.

I shall append the following. It is customary for a general about to celebrate a triumph to invite the Consuls to dinner and then to request them not to come, so that on the day of his triumph nobody of higher official rank be at the same dinner table.[11]

No man, however, though he might have accomplished great things eminently useful to the commonwealth in a civil war, was given the title of general (*imperator*) on that account, nor were any thanksgivings decreed, nor did such a one triumph[12] either in ovation or with chariot, for such victories have ever been accounted grievous, though necessary, as won by domestic not foreign blood. So Nasica and Opimius were sorrowful when they slaughtered the factions of Ti. Gracchus and Gaius.[13] When Q. Catulus put an end to his colleague M. Lepidus along with all the forces of sedition, he returned to the city with only a moderate display of joy on his face. C. Antonius too, Catiline's conqueror, brought swords wiped clean back to camp. L. Cinna and C. Marius drank greedily of their countrymen's blood, it is true, but they did not go straightway to the temples and altars of the gods. Even L. Sulla, who won more civil wars than any man and whose victories were

(cf. VM 9.4.3). Q. Metellus Baliaricus (if "G. Metellus" is assigned to him) triumphed in 121 and was Censor the following year but he has no business here.

cuius crudelissimi et insolentissimi successus fuerunt, cum consummata atque constituta[75] potentia sua triumphum duceret, ut Graeciae et Asiae multas urbes, ita civium Romanorum nullum oppidum vexit.

Piget taedetque per vulnera rei publicae ulterius procedere. lauream nec senatus cuiquam dedit nec quisquam sibi dari desideravit civitatis parte lacrimante. ceterum ad quercum pronae manus porriguntur, ubi ob cives servatos corona danda est, qua postes Augustae domus sempiterna gloria triumphant.

9. DE CENSORIA NOTA

praef. Castrensis disciplinae tenacissimum vinculum et militaris rationis diligens observatio admonet me ut ad censuram, pacis magistram custodemque, transgrediar: nam ut opes populi Romani in tantum amplitudinis imperatorum virtutibus excesserunt, ita probitas et continentia censorio supercilio examinata ‹valida›[76] est, opus effectu par bellicis laudibus: quid enim prodest foris esse strenuum, si domi male vivitur? expugnentur licet urbes, corripiantur gentes, regnis manus iniciantur, nisi foro et curiae officium ac verecundia sua constiterit, partarum rerum caelo cumulus aequatus sedem stabilem non habebit. ad rem igitur pertinet nosse atque adeo recordari acta censoriae potestatis.

[75] constituta *Watt*[3]: constricta* AL [76] *add. SB*

---

[14] Augustus received a civic crown (oak-wreath award to soldiers for saving the life of a comrade) from the senate in January 27. It was placed above the door of his palace (Aug. *Res gestae* 34).

cruel and insolent beyond others, when he celebrated a triumph after consummating and consolidating his power, bore many cities of Greece and Asia in procession but no town of Roman citizens.

Revulsion and weariness forbid further advance through the hurts of the commonwealth. The senate gave no man a laurel nor did any wish to be given one with part of the community in tears. But hands are readily stretched forth to receive the oak, when a crown is to be granted for countrymen saved. With it the doorposts of the August dwelling triumph in eternal glory.[14]

9. OF THE CENSORIAL STIGMA

The binding link of camp discipline and the careful observance of the military system admonish me to press on to the Censorship, mistress and guardian of peace. For as the resources of the Roman people have risen to so high a level through the high qualities of its generals, so uprightness and self-restraint flourish when scrutinized by the Censor's frown, an achievement equal in effect to the glories of war. For what use is good work abroad if life at home is lived amiss?[1] Cities may be stormed, nations snatched up, hands laid on kingdoms, but unless duty and modesty be fittingly established in Forum and senate house, the skyscraping mass of acquisitions will have no firm foundation. Therefore it is to our purpose to know and, what is more, to record the acts of censorial power.

[1] Cf. Juv. 8.7ff. *quis fructus . . . multa contingere virga / fumosos equitum cum dictatore magistros, / si coram Lepidis male vivitur?*

1 Camillus et Postumius censores aera poenae nomine eos qui ad senectutem caelibes pervenerant in aerarium deferre iusserunt, iterum puniri dignos, si quidem[77] de tam iusta constitutione queri sunt ausi, cum in hunc modum increparentur: 'Natura vobis quemadmodum nascendi ita gignendi legem scribit, parentesque vos alendo nepotum nutriendorum debito, si quis est pudor, alligaverunt. accedit his quod etiam Fortuna longam praestandi huiusce muneris advocationem estis adsecuti, cum interim consumpti sunt anni vestri et mariti et patris nomine vacui. ite igitur et nodosam[78] exsolvite stipem, utilem posteritati numerosae.'

2 Horum severitatem M. Valerius Maximus et C. Iunius Brutus Bubulcus censores non simili[79] genere animadversionis imitati sunt: L. enim An[to]nium[80] senatu moverunt, quod quam virginem in matrimonium duxerat, repudiasset nullo amicorum consilio[81] adhibito. at hoc crimen nescio an superiore maius: nam illo coniugalia sacra spreta tantum, hoc etiam iniuriose tractata sunt. optimo ergo iudicio censores indignum eum aditu curiae existimaverunt.

3 Sicut Porcius Cato L. Flamininum, quem e numero senatorum sustulit, quia in provincia quendam damnatum securi percusserat, tempore supplicii ad arbitrium et spec-

[77] quidem *SB*³: quo modo A *corr.*, L [78] nodosam *intra cruces Briscoe* [79] non simili *SB*³: cons- AL

[80] Annium P: Antonium AL

[81] consilio P: in consilio AL: -lium A *corr.*

---

2 403: Plut. *Camill.* 2, Paulus (Fest.) 519 Lindsay (*uxorium*).

3 Knotty because hard to get loose. But there may be a play on words, since *exsolvere* can mean "pay." *Nodosam* has been the tar-

Censors Camillus and Postumius[2] ordered persons who had reached old age as bachelors to pay copper coins to the treasury as a penalty. They deserved a second punishment for daring to protest against so just an ordinance in the face of a rebuke such as this: "Nature writes a law for us; as we are born, so must we beget. By raising you your parents bound you in decency with a debt to bring up grandchildren. Add that by the gift of Fortune you obtained a long adjournment of this obligation, during which time your years were squandered, void of the names of husband and father. Go then and loosen the knotty mite[3] for the use of a numerous posterity."

Their severity was imitated by Censors M. Valerius Maximus and C. Junius Bubulcus Brutus[4] with a dissimilar sort of visitation. They expelled L. Annius from the senate because he divorced the girl he had taken to wife without calling any council of friends. Perhaps this was a more serious offence than the other, in which the sacred claims of matrimony were merely rejected, whereas in our present case they were treated injuriously. So it was excellent judgment on the Censors' part to consider him unworthy to enter the senate house.

Similarly Porcius Cato[5] with L. Flamininus, whom he removed from the roll of senators because in his province he had beheaded a condemned man, choosing the time of

get of much conjecture and is obelized by Briscoe, needlessly in my view.

[4] 307. Annius or Antonius is otherwise unknown. In VM 2.1.4 the first Roman divorce is said to have happened about seventy years later.

[5] As Censor in 184: Livy 39.43, Sen. *Contr.* 9.2 etc.

taculum mulierculae, cuius amore tenebatur, electo. et poterat inhiberi respectu consulatus, quem is gesserat, atque auctoritate fratris eius T. Flaminini; sed et censor et Cato, duplex severitatis exemplum, eo magis illum notandum statuit quod amplissimi honoris maiestatem tam taetro facinore inquinaverat, nec pensi duxerat iisdem imaginibus ascribi meretricis oculos humano sanguine delectatos et regis Philippi supplices manus.

4 Quid de Fabricii Luscini censura loquar? narravit omnis aetas et deinceps narrabit ab eo Cornelium Rufinum, duobus consulatibus et dictatura speciosissime functum, quod decem pondo vasa argentea comparasset, perinde ac malo exemplo luxuriosum in ordine senatorio retentum non esse. ipsae medius fidius mihi litterae saeculi nostri obstupescere videntur, cum ad tantam severitatem referendam ministerium accommodare coguntur, ac vereri ne non nostrae urbis acta commemorare existimentur: vix enim credibile est intra idem pomerium decem pondo argenti et invidiosum fuisse censum et inopiam haberi contemptissimam.

5 M. autem Antonius et L. Flaccus censores Duronium senatu moverunt, quod legem de coercendis conviviorum sumptibus latam tribunus plebi abrogaverat. mirifica notae causa: quam enim impudenter Duronius rostra conscendit illa dicturus! 'freni sunt iniecti vobis, Quirites, nullo modo perpetiendi. alligati et constricti estis amaro

---

[6] 275: Livy *Per.* 14 etc.

[7] Duronius was Tribune in 97 at latest (Broughton II.8 n.3). Only Valerius records his law and expulsion.

execution to suit some woman he was in love with who wanted to watch it. Cato might have been deterred by respect for the Consulship which Flamininus had held and the prestige of his brother, T. Flamininus. But being Censor and Cato, a twofold pattern of severity, he determined that the offender deserved the stigma all the more because he had befouled the majesty of the highest office by so loathsome an act and had not let it concern him that the eyes of a harlot gratified with human blood and the hands of king Philip lifted in supplication be attached to the same family masks.

What shall I say of the Censorship of Fabricius Luscinus?[6] Every generation has told and will tell in time to come that Cornelius Rufinus, who had gone through two Consulships and a Dictatorship with the highest distinction, was not kept in the senatorial order as a man given to luxury and setting a bad example because he had collected silver plate weighing ten pounds. Upon my word, the very letters of our present epoch seem to me to be lost in amazement when they are required to lend their service to the recording of such severity and to fear that they may be thought to relate the proceedings of some other city than ours. For it is hard to believe that inside the same city limits ten pounds of silver was scandalous wealth and is considered contemptible indigence.

Censors M. Antonius and L. Flaccus expelled Duronius from the senate[7] because as Tribune of the Plebs he had revoked a law passed to limit money spent on banquets. A remarkable reason for a stigma! For how impudently does Duronius ascend the rostra to speak as follows: "A bridle has been laid upon you, citizens, quite intolerable. You have been bound and tied with a galling chain of slavery. A

vinculo servitutis: lex enim lata est quae vos esse frugi iubet. abrogemus igitur istud horridae vetustatis rubigine obsitum imperium: etenim quid opus libertate, si volentibus luxu perire non licet?'

6a Age, par proferamus aequali iugo virtutis honorumque societate iunctum, instinctu[82] autem aemulationis animo dissidens. Claudius Nero Liviusque Salinator, secundi Punici belli temporibus firmissima rei publicae latera, quam destrictam simul egerunt censuram! nam cum equitum centurias recognoscerent et ipsi propter robur aetatis etiam nunc eorum essent e numero, ut est ad Polliam ventum tribum, praeco lecto nomine Salinatoris citandum necne sibi esset haesitavit. quod ubi intellexit Nero, et citari collegam et equum vendere iussit, quia populi iudicio damnatus esset. Salinator quoque eadem animadversione Neronem persecutus est, adiecta causa quod non sincera fide secum in gratiam redisset. quibus viris si quis caelestium significasset futurum ut eorum sanguis illustrium imaginum serie deductus in ortum salutaris principis nostri conflueret, depositis inimicitiis artissimo se amicitiae foedere iunxissent, servatam ab ipsis patriam communi stirpi servandam relicturi.

6b Salinator vero quattuor atque triginta tribus inter aerarios referre non dubitavit, cum se damnassent, postea consulem et censorem fecissent, praetexuitque causam,

[82] instinctu *Aldus*: instrictum* AL

---

[8] Censors in 204 and Consuls in 207: Livy 29.37 etc.

[9] Cf. VM 4.2.2. [10] As the son of Ti. Claudius Nero and Livia, the emperor Tiberius was descended from both.

[11] Livy 29.37.8–16 etc. The lowest category, called *aerarii*,

law has been passed commanding you to be frugal. Let us then revoke that regulation, overlaid as it is with the rust of rugged antiquity. For indeed, what use is liberty if we are not allowed to go to perdition with luxury as we want to?"

Well now, let us bring forward a pair joined in equal yoke by partnership in virtue and offices, but sundered in spirit by the spur of rivalry. Claudius Nero and Livius Salinator[8] were the firmest bulwarks of the commonwealth in the days of the Second Punic War. And how drastic a Censorship did they exercise together! When they were reviewing the centuries of knights, being themselves young enough to be still one of their number, and it was the turn of the tribe Pollia, the crier, reading Salinator's name, hestitated whether or not to call it. When Nero realized that, he ordered both that his colleague be called and that he sell his horse, because he had been found guilty in a trial before the people. Salinator for his part pursued Nero with the same animadversion, giving as his reason that Nero had made up their quarrel[9] in bad faith. If some god had revealed the future to these personages, that their blood brought down through a series of illustrious ancestors would one day mingle to give birth to our leader and saviour, they would have put their feud aside and joined in the closest pact of friendship, looking to leave the country which they themselves had saved for their common offspring to preserve.[10]

But Salinator did not scruple to relegate thirty-four tribes to the lowest category[11] because after condemning him they had elected him Consul and Censor, and gave as

could not vote. How the stigma worked out in this case is not revealed.

quia necesse esset eas alterutro facto crimine temeritatis aut[83] periurii teneri. unam tantummodo tribum Maeciam vacuam nota reliquit, quae eum suffragiis suis ut non damnatione ita ne honore quidem dignum iudicaverat. quam putemus constantis et praevalidi illum ingenii fuisse, qui neque tristi iudiciorum exitu compelli neque honorum magnitudine adduci potuit quo se blandiorem in administratione rei publicae gereret?

7 Equestris quoque ordinis bona magnaque pars, quadringenti iuvenes, censoriam notam patiente animo sustinuerunt, quos M'. Valerius et P. Sempronius, quia in Sicilia ad munitionum opus explicandum ire iussi facere id neglexerant, equis publicis spoliatos in numerum aerariorum rettulerunt.

8 Turpis etiam metus censores summa cum severitate poenam exegerunt: M. enim Atilius Regulus et L. Furius Philus M. Metellum quaestorem compluresque equites Romanos, qui post infeliciter commissam Cannensem pugnam cum eo abituros se Italia iuraverant, dereptis equis publicis inter aerarios referendos curaverunt. eos qu<oqu>e[84] gravi nota adfecerunt qui cum in potestatem Hannibalis venissent, legati ab eo missi ad senatum de permutandis captivis neque impetrato[85] quod petebant, in urbe manserunt, quia et Romano sanguini fidem praestare conveniens erat et M. Atilius Regulus censor perfidiam notabat, cuius pater per summos cruciatus exspirare quam fallere Carthaginienses satius esse duxerat. iam haec cen-

[83] aut ς: et AL
[84] *add. Per.*
[85] impetrato *SB*: -rassent AL

his reason that by one or the other action they must necessarily be guilty of irresponsibility or of perjury. One tribe only, the Maecia, he left free of stigma, which by its votes had judged him deserving neither of condemnation nor of office. What a resolute, powerful character he must have had! The unhappy outcome of trials could not compel nor the magnitude of official honours induce him to take a gentler line in the conduct of public affairs.

A good substantial part of the equestrian order, four hundred men of military age, patiently suffered a censorial stigma. Ordered in Sicily to go and finish some fortification work, they had neglected to do so, in consequence of which Censors M'. Valerius and P. Sempronius deprived them of their public horses and relegated them to the lowest category.

Censors also imposed punishment for cowardice with the utmost severity. M. Atilius Regulus and L. Furius Philus took away the public horses of Quaestor M. Metellus and a number of Roman knights and had them relegated to the lowest category, who after the unfortunate battle of Cannae had sworn to leave Italy along with him.[12] They also visited with a heavy stigma some persons who had come into Hannibal's power. They had been sent by him as envoys to the senate to negotiate an exchange of prisoners, and having failed in their mission, stayed on in the city. For to keep faith was fitting to Roman blood, and the Censor who stigmatized their perfidy was M. Atilius Regulus, whose father had preferred to die in agonizing torments rather than break his word to the Carthaginians.

[12] 214: Livy 24.18.1–6. Furius' praenomen was Publius, Metellus' probably Lucius (Broughton I.261 n. 2).

sura ex foro in castra transcendit, quae neque timeri neque decipi voluit hostem.

9 Sequuntur duo eiusdem generis exempla, eaque adiecisse satis erit. C. Geta, cum a L. Metello et Cn. Domitio censoribus senatu motus esset, postea censor factus est. item M. Valerius Messalla, censoria nota perstrictus, censoriam postmodum potestatem impetravit. quorum ignominia virtutem acuit: rubore enim eius excitati omnibus viribus incubuerunt ut digni civibus viderentur quibus dari potius quam obici censura deberet.

10. DE MAIESTATE

praef. Est et illa quasi privata censura, maiestas clarorum virorum, sine tribunalium fastigio, sine apparitorum ministerio potens in sua amplitudine obtinenda: grato enim et iucundo introitu animis hominum allabitur, admirationis praetexto velata. quam recte quis dixerit longum et beatum honorem esse sine honore.

1 Nam quid plus tribui potuit consuli quam est datum reo Metello? qui cum causam repetundarum diceret, tabulaeque eius ab accusatore expostulatae ad nomen inspiciendum circa iudices ferrentur, totum consilium ab earum contemplatione oculos avertit, ne de aliqua re quae in iis

---

[13] Cic. *Off.* 3.113 etc. [14] L. Metellus Diadematus (rather than Delmaticus: Broughton I.532 n.1) and Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus were Censors in 115; C. Licinius Geta, Consul in 116, became Censor in 108: Cic. *Cluent.* 119.

[15] Not the Censor of 154 but his descendant M. Valerius Messalla Niger, Consul in 61 and Censor in 55: see *RE* VIIIA.163.

Now this Censorship has passed from the Forum to the camp, unwilling that the enemy should be either feared or deceived.[13]

Two examples of the same sort follow and it will suffice to add them. C. Geta was elected Censor after he had been expelled from the senate by Censors L. Metellus and Cn. Domitius.[14] Likewise M. Valerius Messalla,[15] after having been scraped by the censorial stigma, was later given the censorial power. Their humiliation whetted their energies. Urged by the shame of it, they strove with might and main to make their countrymen think them deserving to have the Censorship bestowed upon them rather than brought up against them.

10. OF MAJESTY

There is a sort of private Censorship, the majesty of famous men, potent in maintaining its greatness without lofty tribunals or the service of apparitors. It glides up to the hearts of men covered with the adornment of admiration and enters welcome and pleasing. One might well call it a protracted and enviable unofficial office.[1]

Could more have been vouchsafed to Metellus as a Consul than was accorded him as a defendant? When he was on trial for extortion and his accounts demanded by the prosecutor were being passed around the jury for inspection of an entry, the entire body averted their eyes from looking at them lest they might seem to have had

He will have been expelled by the Censors of 70 who "instituted a severe purge of the senate" (Broughton).

[1] *Honor* = elective office.

relata erat[86] videretur dubitasse. non in tabulis sed in vita Q. Metelli argumenta sincère administratae provinciae legenda sibi iudices crediderunt, indignum rati integritatem tanti viri exigua cera et paucis litteris perpendi.

2a Sed quid mirum si debitus honos a civibus Metello tributus est, quem superiori Africano etiam hostis praestare non dubitavit? si quidem rex Antiochus, bello quod cum Romanis gerebat, filium eius a militibus suis interceptum honoratissime excepit, regiisque muneribus donatum ultro et celeriter patri remisit, quamquam ab eo tum maxime finibus imperii pellebatur. sed et rex et lacessitus maiestatem excellentissimi viri venerari quam dolorem suum ulcisci maluit.

2b Ad eundem Africanum in Liternina villa se continentem complures praedonum duces videndum eodem tempore forte confluxerunt. quos cum ad vim faciendam venire existimasset, praesidium domesticorum in tecto collocavit, eratque in iis repellendis et animo et apparatu occupatus. quod ut praedones animadverterunt, dimissis militibus abiectisque armis ianuae appropinquant, et clara voce nuntiant Scipioni non vitae eius hostes, sed virtutis admîratores venisse, conspectum et congressum tanti viri quasi caeleste aliquod beneficium expetentes; proinde

[86] relata (*Torr.*) erat *SB*: -tae erant AL

---

[2] Cic. *Att.* 1.16.4, *Balb.* 11. The exact date of the trial is doubtful (Broughton III.40). Numidicus was Consul in 106.

[3] 190: Livy 37.34.4–7 etc. Cf. VM 3.5.1a, 4.5.3. The connection with the previous item is more than usually forced. Had Valerius originally meant to bring in the comparable incident in 3.7.1e? Cf. 2.10.ext.2.

doubts about some matter entered therein. The jury believed they should read the proofs of upright administration of his province in Q. Metellus' life, not in his accounts, and thought it unworthy that the integrity of so great a man be assessed on the basis of a little wax and a few letters of the alphabet.[2]

But is it surprising that due honour was paid Metellus by his countrymen, which even an enemy did not hesitate to accord to the elder Africanus? For in the war which king Antiochus was waging against Rome his soldiers captured Africanus' son. Antiochus received him in the most honourable fashion, gave him royal gifts, and sent him back to his father promptly, without waiting to be asked, although at that very time he was being driven by Africanus from the bounds of his empire. But king though he was and provoked, he preferred to reverence the majesty of a preeminent personality rather than to avenge his own distress.[3]

The same Africanus was living in retirement[4] at his country house near Liternum when a number of pirate chiefs happened to gather at the same time to get a sight of him. Thinking they had come to do violence, he placed a body of his domestics on the roof and was intent on repelling them both by courage and by preparation. When the pirates perceived it, after dismissing their troops and laying down their weapons they went up to the door and loudly announced that they had come to Scipio not as enemies to his life but as admirers of his prowess, seeking to see and meet so great a man as a gift from the gods; so

4 Cf. VM 5.3.2b. The following story is not found elsewhere.

securum se novis[87] spectandum praebere ne gravetur. haec postquam domestici Scipioni rettulerunt, fores reserari eosque intromitti iussit. qui, postes ianuae tamquam aliquam religiosissimam aram sanctumque templum venerati, cupide Scipionis dexteram apprehenderunt ac diu osculati, positis ante vestibulum donis quae deorum immortalium numini consecrari solent, laeti quod Scipionem vidisse contigisset, ad naves[88] reverterunt. quid hoc fructu maiestatis excelsius, quid etiam iucundius? hostis iram admiratione sui placavit, spectaculo praesentiae suae latronum gestientes oculos vidit. delapsa caelo sidera hominibus si se offerant, venerationis amplius non recipient.

3 Et haec quidem vivo Scipioni, illud autem Aemilio Paullo exanimi contigit: nam cum exsequiae eius celebrarentur ac forte tunc principes Macedoniae legationis nomine Romae morarentur, funebri lecto sponte sua sese subiecerunt. quod aliquanto maius videbitur si qui cognoscat lecti illius frontem Macedonicis triumphis fuisse adornatam:[89] quantum enim Paullo tribuerunt, propter quem gentis suae cladium indicia per ora vulgi ferre non exhorruerunt! quod spectaculum funeri speciem alterius triumphi adiecit: bis enim te, Paulle, Macedonia urbi nostrae illustrem ostendit, incolumem spoliis suis, fato functum umeris.

[87] novis *SB*: nobis AL
[88] naves *Torr.*: lares AL; Br
[89] adornatam A *corr.*: -tum AL

---

[5] *Novis;* cf. Plaut. *Pseud.* 700 *istic Pseudolus novos mihi est*; *nobis* in indirect speech is surely impossible. Watt had proposed *ignotis*.

let him not grudge to show himself to strangers[5] without fear for them to gaze upon. His servants so reported to Scipio, who ordered the door unbarred and the men admitted. They did reverence to the doorposts as to some holy altar or sacred temple, then eagerly took Scipio's hand and kissed it for a long while. Finally, after leaving gifts such as are customarily consecrated to the divinity of the immortal gods in front of the vestibule, they went back to their ships rejoicing that they had had the good fortune to see Scipio. What could be more exalted than this product of majesty and what more gratifying? He pacified the enemy's anger by the admiration he inspired and saw the brigands' eyes revelling in the spectacle of his presence. If stars were to come down from the sky and offer themselves to men, they will receive no greater reverence.

That happened to Scipio alive, this to Aemilius Paullus dead. At the time his obsequies were being celebrated the principal men of Macedonia were staying in Rome on an embassy. Of their own accord they put themselves under the bier. That will appear the more extraordinary if one learns that the front of that bier was decorated with Macedonian triumphs. What a tribute to Paullus, for whose sake they did not shudder to carry the tokens of their national disasters before the eyes of the populace! The spectacle gave the funeral the aspect of a second triumph. For twice over, Paullus, did Macedonia display you in glory to our city: by her spoils when you were alive, by her shoulders after your passing.[6]

[6] 160: Plut. *Aem. Paul.* 39.

4 Ne filii quidem tui Scipionis Aemiliani, quem in adoptionem dando duarum familiarum ornamentum esse voluisti, maiestati parum honoris tributum est, cum eum adulescentem admodum a Lucullo consule petendi auxilii gratia ex Hispania in Africam missum Carthaginienses et Masinissa rex de pace disceptatorem velut consulem et imperatorem habuerunt. ignara quidem fatorum suorum Carthago: orientis enim illud iuventae decus deorum atque hominum indulgentia ad excidium eius alebatur, ut superius cognomen Africanum capta, posterius eversa Corneliae genti daret.

5 Quid damnatione, quid exsilio miserius? atqui P. Rutilio conspiratione publicanorum perculso auctoritatem adimere non valuerunt. cui Asiam petenti omnes provinciae illius civitates legatos secessum eius occupantes[90] obviam miserunt. exsulare aliquis, rogo, hoc an[91] triumphare iustius dixerit.

6 C. etiam Marius, in profundum ultimarum miseriarum abiectus, ex ipso vitae discrimine beneficio maiestatis emersit: missus enim ad eum occidendum in privata domo Minturnis clausum servus publicus, natione Cimber, et senem et inermem et squalore obsitum, strictum gladium tenens, adgredi non sustinuit, et claritate viri occaecatus, abiecto ferro, attonitus inde ac tremens fugit. Cimbrica nimirum calamitas oculos hominis praestrinxit,[92] devictaeque gentis suae interitus animum comminuit, etiam dis

[90] occupantes *Watt*[2]: operientes AL; Br
[91] rogo, hoc an *Heraeus*: loco hoc aut* AL
[92] praestrinxit *Halm*: perst- AL

Honour too was accorded in no grudging fashion to the majesty of your son Scipio Aemilianus, whom you gave in adoption, wishing him to be the ornament of two families. Sent from Spain to Africa when quite a young man by Consul Lucullus to seek aid,[7] the Carthaginians and king Masinissa treated him as their arbitrator of peace as though he had been Consul or commander-in-chief. Carthage to be sure was ignorant of her destiny. For the flower of his rising youth was fostered by the indulgence of gods and men for her destruction; she was to give the surname of Africanus to the Cornelian clan twice, the first time captured, the second overthrown.

What sorrier fate than condemnation and exile? And yet these could not take away his prestige from P. Rutilius when he was struck down by a conspiracy of the tax farmers. All the communities of his province sent envoys to meet him on his way to Asia, bespeaking his place of retirement.[8] Should we call this exile or triumph? I ask you.

C. Marius too, cast down into the depths of uttermost misery, owed it to his majesty that he came out of immediate danger to his life. He was imprisoned in a private house in Minturnae, where a public slave, a Cimbrian by nationality, was sent to kill him. Sword in hand, the fellow dared not attack the unarmed, unkempt old man. Dazzled by his renown, he flung away the weapon and fled the spot in amazement and trembling.[9] Doubtless the Cimbrian calamity blinded the man, the destruction of his conquered people broke his spirit; and even the immortal

7 151: App. *Lib.* 71f. Cf. VM 5.2.ext.4.

8 Rutilius became a citizen of Smyrna: Cic. *Balb.* 28 etc.

9 88: Livy *Per.* 77, Vell. 2.19 etc.

immortalibus indignum ratis ab uno eius nationis interfici Marium quam totam deleverat. Minturnenses autem, maiestate illius capti, compressum iam et constrictum dira fati necessitate incolumem praestiterunt, nec fuit eis timori asperrima Sullae victoria, cum praesertim ipse Marius eos a conservando Mario absterrere posset.

7 M. quoque Porcium Catonem admiratio fortis ac sincerae vitae adeo venerabilem senatui fecit ut cum invito C. Caesare consule adversus publicanos dicendo in curia diem traheret et ob id iussu eius a lictore in carcerem duceretur, universus senatus illum sequi non dubitaret, quae res divini animi perseverantiam flexit.

8 Eodem ludos Florales, quos Messius aedilis faciebat, spectante, populus ut mimae nudarentur postulare erubuit, quod cum ex Favonio amicissimo sibi una sedente cognosset, discessit e theatro, ne praesentia sua spectaculi consuetudinem impediret, quem abeuntem ingenti plausu populus prosecutus priscum morem iocorum in scaenam revocarunt,[93] confessus plus se maiestatis uni illi tribuere quam sibi universo vindicare. quibus opibus, quibus imperiis, quibus triumphis hoc datum est? exiguum viri patrimonium, astricti continentia mores, modicae clientelae, domus ambitioni clausa, paterni generis una ill<ustris>[94]

[93] revocavit ς
[94] *add.* ς

[10] By reason of his future atrocities, had they known of them.

[11] 59, in Caesar's first Consulship: Suet. *Iul.* 20.4, Plut. *Cat. min.* 33, Dio 38.3.2 etc. Sources vary as to details.

gods thought it unfitting that Marius be slain by one of a nation which he had totally destroyed. Subdued and constrained as he was by dire necessity of fate, the people of Minturnae were captivated by his majesty and saved his life. Sulla's savage victory did not affright them, even though Marius himself[10] might have deterred them from preserving Marius.

Admiration of his brave and unblemished life made M. Porcius Cato venerable to the senate. So much so that when he was filibustering in the house against the tax farmers contrary to the wishes of Consul C. Caesar and in consequence was led to prison by a lictor on Caesar's orders, the entire senate followed him without hesitation. That deflected the perseverance of Caesar's superhuman spirit.[11]

When the same personage was watching Flora's games, put on by Aedile C. Messius, the people blushed to ask that the actresses be stripped naked. When Favonius, a great friend of Cato's who was sitting next him, told him of this, he left the theatre, not wishing that his presence should interfere with the custom of the show. The people followed him as he went out with tremendous applause and then recalled the ancient mode of merriment back to the stage, confessing that it recognized more majesty in Cato alone than it claimed for its universal self.[12] To what resources, what magisterial powers, what triumphs was this accorded? Cato's patrimony was small, his way of life narrowed by self-restraint, his clientships not large, his house closed to canvassers, his father's family with one cele-

[12] 55: Sen. *Ep.* 97.8, Mart. 1.epist.

imago, minime blanda frons, sed omnibus numeris perfecta virtus. quae quidem effecit ut quisquis sanctum et egregium civem significare velit, sub nomine Catonis definiat.

ext. 1 Dandum est aliquid loci etiam alienigenis exemplis, ut domesticis aspersa ipsa varietate delectent. Harmodii et Aristogitonis, qui Athenas tyrannide liberare conati sunt, effigies aeneas Xerxes ea urbe devicta in regnum suum transtulit. longo deinde interiecto tempore Seleucus in pristinam sedem reportandas curavit. Rhodii quoque eas urbi suae appulsas, cum in hospitium publice invitassent, sacris etiam in pulvinaribus collocaverunt. nihil hac memoria felicius, quae tantum venerationis in tam parvulo aere possidet.

ext. 2 Quantum porro honoris Athenis Xenocrati, sapientia pariter ac sanctitate claro, tributum est! cum testimonium dicere coactus ad aram accessisset, ut more eius civitatis iuraret omnia se vere rettulisse, universi iudices consurrexerunt proclamaruntque ne ius iurandum diceret, quodque sibimet ipsis postmodum dicendae sententiae loco remissuri non erant, sinceritati eius concedendum existimarunt.

---

[13] His great-grandfather the Censor. But the family had flourished in between, an uncle and two great-uncles holding Consulships. Through his mother and half-sisters he was connected with a number of Rome's most aristocratic families.

brated ancestor,[13] his aspect by no means ingratiating, but his virtue complete on all counts. It has made everyone who may wish to indicate a blameless, excellent citizen use Cato's name as a definition.

EXTERNAL

Some space must be allowed to alien-born examples to give pleasure by their very variety scattered upon the domestic ones. When Xerxes conquered Athens, he transferred the bronze effigies of Harmodius and Aristogiton, who tried to free that city from tyranny, to his own kingdom. Then after a long interval Seleucus[14] had them brought back to their old situation. The Rhodians too invited them as public guests when they touched at their city and even put them on sacred couches. Theirs was the most blessed of memories, holding so much veneration in so small a quantity of metal.

Further, how great an honour was paid in Athens to Xenocrates, famous alike for wisdom and blameless character! Obliged to bear witness, he approached an altar according to the custom of that community to swear that he had given all his evidence truthfully. But the entire jury rose to their feet proclaiming that he should not take the oath.[15] What they would not later allow themselves when giving their verdict, they thought proper to concede to his integrity.

[14] Alexander according to Pliny *N.H.* 34.70 and Arrian *Anab.* 3.16.8, 7.19.2; Antiochus (III?) according to Pausanias 1.8.5.

[15] Cic. *Att.* 1.16.4, *Balb.* 12, Diog. Laert. 4.7.

LIBER TERTIUS

1. DE INDOLE

praef. Attingam quasi cunabula quaedam et elementa virtutis, animique procedente tempore ad summum gloriae cumulum perventuri certo cum indolis experimento datos gustus referam.

1 Aemilius Lepidus, puer etiam tum, progressus in aciem, hostem interemit, civem servavit. cuius tam memorabilis operis index est in Capitolio statua bullata et incincta praetexta senatus consulto posita: iniquum enim putavit eum honori nondum tempestivum videri qui iam virtuti maturus fuisset. praecucurrit igitur Lepidus aetatis stabilimentum fortiter faciendi celeritate, duplicemque laudem e proelio rettulit, cuius eum vix spectatorem anni esse patiebantur: arma enim infesta et destricti gladii et discursus telorum et adventantis equitatus fragor et concurrentium exercituum impetus iuvenibus quoque aliquantum terroris incutit, inter quae gentis Aemiliae pueritia coronam mereri, spolia rapere valuit.

2a Hic spiritus ne M. quidem Catonis pueritiae defuit: nam cum in domo M. Drusi avunculi sui educaretur et ad

---

[1] The future Pontifex Maximus, Consul in 187 and 175. A coin commemorates this exploit of the Second Punic War, about 210.

BOOK III

1. OF NATURAL TEMPER

I am about to touch upon certain cradles and elements of valour and shall relate samplings given with sure trial of natural temper of a spirit destined in course of time to attain the highest pinnacles of glory.

While still a boy, M. Aemilius Lepidus[1] went into battle, killed a foeman, and saved a fellow countryman. As a token of so memorable an exploit, a statue was placed on the Capitol by decree of the senate with a locket, enveloped in a boy's gown. For they thought it unfair that one who had already shown himself mature for valour should be held unripe for honour. So Lepidus ran ahead of the firming that comes with age by his precocious gallantry and brought double glory back from a battle which his years would scarce allow him to watch. For hostile arms, drawn swords, darts flying here and there, the noise of advancing cavalry, the violence of conflicting armies strike some terror even into grown men. Amid it all the boyhood of the Aemilian clan could win a crown and seize a spoil.

Neither was such spirit wanting to the boyhood of M. Cato. He was being brought up in the house of his uncle M. Drusus. To Drusus, who was Tribune of the Plebs,

eum tribunum plebis Latini de civitate impetranda convenissent, a Q. Poppaedio, Latii principe, Drusi autem hospite, rogatus ut socios apud avunculum adiuvaret, constanti vultu non facturum se respondit. iterum deinde ac saepius interpellatus, in proposito perstitit. tunc Poppaedius in excelsam aedium partem levatum abiecturum inde se, nisi precibus obtemperaret, minatus est: nec hac re ab incepto moveri potuit. expressa est itaque illa vox homini:[1] 'gratulemur nobis, Latini et socii, hunc esse tam parvum, quo senatore ne sperare quidem nobis civitatem licuisset.' tenero ergo animo Cato totius curiae gravitatem praecepit,[2] perseverantiaque sua Latinos iura nostrae civitatis apprehendere cupientes reppulit.

2b Idem, cum salutandi gratia praetextatus ad Sullam venisset et capita proscriptorum in atrium allata vidisset, atrocitate rei commotus paedagogum suum, nomine Sarpedonem, interrogavit quapropter nemo inveniretur qui tam crudelem tyrannum occideret: cumque is non voluntatem hominibus sed facultatem deesse, quod salus eius magno praesidio militum custodiretur, respondisset, ut ferrum sibi daret obsecravit, adfirmando perfacile se eum interfecturum, quod in lecto illius considere soleret. paedagogus et animum Catonis agnovit et propositum exhorruit, eumque postea ad Sullam excussum semper adduxit. nihil hoc admirabilius: puer in officina crudelitatis deprehensus victorem non extimuit, cum maxime consules

[1] homini *Lipsius*: -num AL
[2] praecepit *Per.*: perc- A *corr.*, L

came Latins to discuss their demand for the franchise.[2] Q. Poppaedius, their leader and a guest of Drusus, asked Cato to put in a word for the allies with his uncle. Cato firmly replied that he would do no such thing, and when solicited a second and a third time, stuck to his resolve. Then Poppaedius took him up to a high part of the house and threatened to throw him down if he did not comply with what was asked. Even this could not move him from his determination. So these words were drawn from the Latin: "We can thank our stars, Latins and allies, that this child is so small, for if he were in the senate we could not even hope for the franchise." So in his tender mind Cato assumed ahead of time the gravity of the whole senate house and by his steadfastness rebuffed the Latins in their eagerness to lay hold of our citizen rights.

When the same, wearing the gown of boyhood, came to Sulla's house to pay his respects and saw the heads of the proscribed that had been brought to the hall, he was shocked by the horror of it and asked his tutor, whose name was Sarpedon, why no one was found to kill so cruel a tyrant. The man replied that people did not lack the will but the opportunity, because his life was guarded by a large body of soldiers. Cato begged the gift of a sword, averring that he would kill Sulla very easily because he was accustomed to sit on his couch. The tutor both recognized Cato's spirit and was aghast at the proposal; and thereafter he always searched him when bringing him to Sulla. A truly remarkable story.[3] The boy, caught in cruelty's workshop, did not fear the victor, who at that very time was slaughtering

[2] In 91, when Cato was four years old; cf. Plut. *Cat. min.* 2, Cic. *Fam.* 16.22.1, Auct. vir. ill. 80. [3] Plut. *Cat. min.* 3.

municipia legiones equestris ordinis maiorem partem trucidantem. ipsum Marium illo loci statuisses,[3] celerius aliquid de sua fuga quam de Sullae nece cogitasset.

3 Cuius filium Faustum C. Cassius, condiscipulum suum, in schola proscriptionem paternam laudantem, ipsumque, cum per aetatem potuisset, idem facturum minitantem, colapho percussit. dignam manum quae publico parricidio se non contaminaret!

ext. 1 Et ut a Graecis aliquid, Alcibiades ille, cuius nescio utrum bona an vitia patriae perniciosiora fuerint—illis enim cives suos decepit, his adflixit—, cum adhuc puer ad Periclen avunculum suum venisset, eumque secreto tristem sedentem vidisset, interrogavit quid ita tantam in vultu confusionem gereret. at illo dicente mandatu se civitatis propylaea Minervae, quae sunt ianuae arcis, aedificasse, consumptaque in id opus ingenti pecunia non invenire quo pacto ministerii rationem redderet, atque ideo conflictari, 'ergo' inquit 'quaere potius quemadmodum rationem non reddas.' itaque vir amplissimus et prudentissimus, suo consilio defectus, puerili usus est, atque id egit ut Athenienses, finitimo implicati bello, rationibus exigendis non vacarent. sed viderint Athenae utrum Alcibiadem lamententur an glorientur, quoniam adhuc inter exsecrationem hominis et admirationem dubio mentis iudicio fluctuatur.

[3] statuisses *Lipsius*: -et AL

---

[4] Plut. *Brut.* 9.

[5] 431: Plut. *Alcib.* 7 etc.

Consuls, municipalities, legions, and the greater part of the equestrian order. If Marius himself had been set in that place, he would have thought about how to get away himself sooner than about killing Sulla.

Sulla's son Faustus at school was lauding his father's proscription and threatening to do the same himself when he was old enough, at which a schoolfellow, C. Cassius, boxed his ears.[4] Such a hand ought never to have defiled itself with a public parricide.

EXTERNAL

To take something from the Greeks: the famous Alcibiades, of whom I know not whether his good qualities or his bad did more harm to his country (for he deceived his countrymen with the one and ruined them with the other), was still a boy when he came one day to his uncle Pericles and saw him sitting in solitary gloom. He asked why he looked so troubled. Pericles told him that as commissioned by the state he had built the propylaea of Minerva (that is, the doorway to the citadel) and that having spent a vast sum on the work he could not think how to render an account of his stewardship; hence his distress. "Well then," said his nephew, "look instead for a way *not* to render an account." And so the great and sagacious Pericles, unable to advise himself, took the advice of a boy: he so managed that the Athenians became involved in a war close to home and had no time to demand accounts.[5] Let Athens decide whether to lament Alcibiades[6] or to glory in him, since hitherto the mind fluctuates in doubtful judgment between execration of the man and admiration.

[6] I.e. be sorry he existed.

2. DE FORTITUDINE

praef. Nos, quia iam initia procursusque virtutis patefecimus, actum ipsum persequemur, cuius ponderosissima vis et efficacissimi lacerti in fortitudine consistunt.

Nec me praeterit, conditor urbis nostrae Romule, principatum hoc tibi in genere laudis adsignari oportere. sed patere, obsecro, uno te praecurri exemplo, cui et ipse aliquantum honoris debes, quia beneficio illius effectum est ne tam praeclarum opus tuum Roma dilaberetur.

1 Etruscis in urbem ponte Sublicio irrumpentibus, Horatius Cocles extremam eius partem occupavit, totumque hostium agmen, donec post tergum suum pons abrumperetur, infatigabili pugna sustinuit, atque, ut patriam periculo imminenti liberatam vidit, armatus se in Tiberim misit. cuius fortitudinem di immortales admirati incolumitatem sinceram ei praestiterunt: nam neque altitudine deiectus quassatus nec pondere armorum pressus nec ullo verticis circuitu actus, ne telis quidem, quae undique congerebantur, laesus tutum natandi eventum habuit. unus itaque tot civium, tot hostium in se oculos convertit, stupentes illos admiratione, hos inter laetitiam et metum haesitantes, unusque duos acerrima pugna consertos exercitus, alterum repellendo, alterum propugnando, distraxit. denique unus urbi nostrae tantum scuto suo quantum Tiberis alveo munimenti attulit. quapropter discedentes Etrusci dicere potuerunt 'Romanos vicimus, ab Horatio victi sumus.'

2 Immemorem me propositi mei Cloelia facit paene ea-

---

[1] 508: Livy 2.10, Dion. Hal. 5.24 etc.

2. OF BRAVERY

Since we have now laid open the beginnings and first sallies of valour, we shall treat of the action itself. Its most weighty force and most effective muscle consist in bravery.

Nor does it escape me, Romulus, founder of our city, that the first place in this category of praise ought to be assigned to you. But suffer yourself, I beg you, to be preceded by one example, to which you yourself owe a due of honour, since thanks to it Rome, your noble work, did not fall asunder.

The Etruscans were breaking into the city by the Pons Sublicius. Horatius Cocles took the end of it and in tireless combat sustained the whole force of the enemy until the bridge was broken off behind his back; and when he saw that his country had been freed from her imminent peril, he threw himself in full armour into the Tiber. The immortal gods in admiration of his bravery kept him safe and sound. Not shaken by the height of the fall, nor crushed by the weight of his arms, nor driven by some whirling current, nor harmed by the weapons flung at him from every side, he swam safely to land. So he alone turned the eyes of so many countrymen, so many enemies, upon himself, the latter stunned with amazement, the former hesitating between joy and fear; and he alone separated two armies locked in fierce combat, driving back the one, fighting in front of the other. In fine, alone he brought as effective a defence to our city with his shield as did Tiber with his channel. Therefore the Etruscans could say as they left: "We vanquished the Romans, we were vanquished by Horatius."[1]

Cloelia makes me forget what I had in mind to say. She

dem [enim][4] tempestate, certe adversus eundem hostem et in eodem Tiberi inclitum ausa facinus: inter ceteras enim virgines obses Porsennae data, [hosti][5] nocturno tempore custodiam egressa, equum conscendit celerique traiectu fluminis non solum obsidio se[6] sed etiam metu patriam solvit, viris puella lumen virtutis praeferendo.

3 Redeo nunc ad Romulum, qui ab Acrone, Caeninensium rege, ad dimicandum provocatus, quamquam et numero et fortitudine militum superiorem se crederet, tutiusque erat toto cum exercitu quam solum in aciem descendere, sua potissimum dextera omen victoriae corripuit. nec incepto eius Fortuna defuit: occiso enim Acrone fusisque hostibus opima de eo spolia Iovi Feretrio rettulit. hactenus istud, quia publica religione consecrata virtus nulla privata laudatione indiget.

4 Ab Romulo proximus Cornelius Cossus eidem deo spolia consecravit, cum magister equitum ducem Fidenatium in acie congressus interemisset. magnus initio huiusce generis incohata gloria[7] Romulus: Cosso quoque multum acquisitum est, quod imitari Romulum valuit.

5 Ne M. quidem Marcelli memoriam ab his exemplis separare debemus, in quo tantus vigor animi fuit ut apud Padum Gallorum regem ingenti exercitu stipatum cum paucis equitibus invaderet; quem protinus obtruncatum armis exuit eaque Iovi Feretrio dicavit.

[4] *om.* ς [5] *del. Per.* [6] obsidio se *idem*: -one AL
[7] incohata gloria *Kempf*: -tae -iae AL

---

[2] 508: Livy 2.13.6–11, Dion. Hal. 5.33 etc. [3] Livy 1.10, Dion. Hal. 2.33f, Prop. 4.10.5–16 etc. [4] 437 or 428 or 426 (Broughton I.59): Livy 4.19f., Prop. 4.10.23–38 etc.

dared a famous deed almost at the same time, certainly against the same enemy and in the same Tiber. She had been given hostage to Porsenna with other girls. Passing the enemy guard at night, she mounted a horse and, swiftly crossing the river, freed not only herself from the condition of a hostage but her country from fear—a girl, holding the light of valour before men.[2]

I now come back to Romulus. Challenged to mortal combat by Acro, king of Caenina, although he believed himself to have the advantage both in numbers and in the valour of his troops, and it would have been safer to go into battle with his whole army than on his own, he preferred to seize the omen of victory with his own right hand. Nor did Fortune fail his undertaking. With Acro slain and the enemy put to flight, Romulus brought *spolia opima* from his foe to Jupiter Feretrius.[3] So much for that; valour consecrated by public religion needs no private encomium.

Next to Romulus, Cornelius Cossus consecrated spoils to the same god when as Master of Horse he met in battle and killed the leader of the Fidenates.[4] Great was Romulus, for he began this kind of glory at its inception. Cossus too acquired much in that he was capable of imitating Romulus.

Nor must we separate from these examples the memory of M. Marcellus. Such vigour of courage was in him that by the Po he with a few horsemen attacked the king of the Gauls, who was surrounded by an enormous host, and straightway slew him, stripped him of his arms, and dedicated them to Jupiter Feretrius.[5]

[5] 222: Livy *Per.* 20, Prop. 4.10.39–44, Plut. *Marc.* 7 etc.

6a Eodem et virtutis et pugnae genere usi sunt T. Manlius Torquatus et Valerius Corvinus et Aemilianus Scipio. hi etiam ultro provocatos[8] hostium duces interemerunt, sed quia sub alienis auspiciis rem gesserant, spolia Iovi Feretrio non posuerunt consecranda.

6b Idem[9] Scipio Aemilianus, cum in Hispania sub Lucullo duce militaret atque Intercatia, praevalidum oppidum, circumsederetur, primus moenia eius conscendit. neque erat in eo exercitu quisquam aut nobilitate aut animi indole aut futuris actis cuius magis saluti parci et consuli deberet. sed tunc clarissimus quisque iuvenum pro amplificanda et tuenda patria plurimum laboris ac periculi sustinebat, deforme sibi existimans, quos dignitate praestaret, ab his virtute superari. ideoque Aemilianus hanc militiam, aliis propter difficultatem vitantibus, sibi depoposcit.

7 Magnum inter haec fortitudinis exemplum antiquitas offert. Romani Gallorum exercitu pulsi, cum se in Capitolium et in arcem conferrent, inque his collibus morari omnes non possent, necessarium consilium in plana parte urbis relinquendorum seniorum ceperunt, quo facilius iuventus reliquias imperii tueretur. ceterum ne illo quidem tam misero tamque luctuoso tempore civitas nostra virtutis suae oblita est: defuncti enim honoribus apertis ianuis in curulibus sellis cum insignibus magistratuum quos

[8] provocantes *Badius* [9] idem A *corr.*: item AL

---

[6] 361: Cic. *Off.* 3.112, Liv. 7.10 etc.

[7] 349: Livy 7.26 etc. Cf. VM 8.15.5.

[8] 151: Livy *Per.* 48, Vell. 1.12.4, App. *Ib.* 53 etc.

[9] If the text is sound, this is a mistake, for in Livy the enemies are the challengers throughout.

T. Manlius Torquatus,[6] Valerius Corvinus,[7] and Aemilianus Scipio[8] showed the same valour in the same kind of combat. They too slew enemy leaders whom they had challenged.[9] But since they had acted under other men's auspices, they did not place spoils to be consecrated to Jupiter Feretrius.

The same Scipio Aemilianus, serving in Spain under the command of Lucullus, was the first to climb the walls of Intercatia, a very strong town then under siege. Nor was there any man in that army whose life more deserved to be husbanded and protected, for nobility or native spirit or future achievements. But in those days the most distinguished of the young men used to sustain the largest share of toil and danger for the aggrandisement and protection of their country; for they thought it discreditable to themselves to be surpassed in valour by those whom they excelled in reputation. Therefore Aemilianus demanded this service for himself when others avoided it because of its difficulty.

Antiquity affords a great example of bravery to be placed with these.[10] Defeated by the army of the Gauls, the Romans retreated to the Capitol and the citadel. Since all of them could not stay on these hills, they took a necessary resolution, to leave the elders in the lower part of the city so that the younger men could more easily protect the remnants of empire. But even in that time of misery and mourning our community did not forget its valour. The ex-officers of state sat at their open doorways on curule chairs wearing the insignia of the magistracies they had

[10] 390: Livy 5.41.9, Plut. *Camill.* 22 etc.

gesserant, sacerdotiorumque quae erant adepti, consederunt, ut et ipsi in occasu suo splendorem et ornamenta praeteritae vitae retinerent et plebi ad fortius sustinendos casus suos ‹exemplum praeberent›.[10] venerabilis eorum aspectus primo hostibus fuit et novitate rei et magnificentia cultus et ipso audaciae genere commotis. sed quis dubitaret quin et Galli et victores illam admirationem mox in risum et in omne contumeliae genus conversuri essent? non exspectavit igitur hanc iniuriae maturitatem C. Atilius, verum barbam suam permulcenti Gallo scipionem vehementi ictu capiti inflixit eique propter dolorem ad se occidendum ruenti cupidius corpus obtulit. capi ergo virtus nescit, patientiae dedecus ignorat, Fortunae succumbere omni fato tristius ducit, nova et speciosa genera interitus excogitat, si quisquam interit qui sic exstinguitur.

8 Reddendus est nunc Romanae iuventuti debitus gloriae titulus, quae C. Sempronio Atratino consule cum Volscis apud Verruginem parum prospere dimicante, ne acies nostra iam inclinata propelleretur, equis delapsa se ipsa centuriavit[11] ‹atque in›[12] hostium exercitum irrupit. quo demoto proximum tumulum occupavit, effecitque ut omnis Volscorum ‹in se›[13] conversus impetus legionibus nostris ad confirmandos animos salutare laxamentum daret. itaque, cum iam de tropaeis statuendis cogitarent, proelium nocte dirimente, victoresne an victi discederent, incerti abierunt.

[10] *add.* ς : *lacunam* G, *Briscoe;* Br
[11] centuriavit A *corr.*: *om.* AL: (equites) centuriaverunt P
[12] atque (A *corr.*) in *add. Kempf*
[13] *add.* ς

held and the priesthoods to which they had attained, so that in their deaths they retained the splendour and ornaments of their past lives and set the common folk an example of how to bear their fates. At first the enemy revered their aspect, impressed by the novelty, the magnificent attire, and the very audacity. But who could doubt that Gauls and victors would presently turn their amazement into ridicule and every sort of insult? So C. Atilius[11] did not wait for such ripeness of outrage but brought his staff with a vigorous blow down on the head of a Gaul who was stroking his beard, and as the pain made the man rush to kill him, eagerly offered his body. So valour knows no captivity, ignores dishonourable patience, thinks submission to Fortune worse than any fate, invents new and spectacular ways to perish, if any man perish who is extinguished thus.

Now a due badge of glory must be rendered to Rome's young warriors. When Consul C. Sempronius Atratinus was unsuccessfully battling with the Volsci at Verrugo, to save our line, already yielding, from rout, they dismounted from their horses, arranged themselves in centuries, and dashed into the enemy host. Dividing it, they occupied an adjoining height and drew upon themselves the full onset of the Volsci, thus giving our legions a saving respite in which to recover their morale. And so, when they[12] were already thinking of setting up trophies, night ended the battle and they withdrew, uncertain whether they were leaving as victors or as vanquished.[13]

[11] M. Atilius in Paris, M. Papirius in Livy, Papirius Manius in Plutarch.

[12] The Volsci.

[13] 423: Livy 4.38f. Cf. VM 6.5.2.

9 Strenuus ille quoque flos ordinis equestris, cuius mira virtute Fabius Maximus Rullianus magister equitum, bello quod adversus Samnites gerebatur, male commissi proelii crimine levatus est: namque Papirio Cursore propter auspicia repetenda in urbem proficiscente, castris praepositus ac vetitus in aciem exercitum ducere, nihilo minus manus cum hoste, sed tam ‹in›feliciter[14] quam temere, conseruit; procul enim dubio superabatur. ceterum optimae indolis iuventus detractis equorum frenis vehementer eos calcaribus stimulatos in adversos Samnites egit, obstinataque animi praesentia extortam manibus hostium victoriam et cum ea spem maximi civis [Rulliani][15] patriae restituit.

10 Qualis deinde roboris illi milites qui vehementi ictu remorum concitatam fuga[16] Punicam ‹navem nantes lubricis pelagi quasi cam›porum[17] firmitate pedites in litus retraxerunt?

11 Eiusdem temporis et notae miles qui Cannensi proelio, quo Hannibal magis vires Romanorum contudit quam animos fregit, cum ad retinenda arma inutiles vulneribus manus haberet, spoliare se conantis Numidae cervicem complexus os naribus et auribus corrosis deforme reddidit, inque plenis ultionis morsibus exspiravit. sepone iniquum pugnae eventum, quantum interfectore fortior interfectus! Poenus enim in victoria obnoxius morientis solacio fuit, Romanus in ipso fine vitae vindex sui exstitit.

14 *add.* ς 15 *del. Per.* 16 fuga *Guyet*: -ae AL
17 *add. fere* A *corr.;* Br

---

14 325: Livy 8.30. Cf. VM 2.7.8.
15 Not found elsewhere.
16 Or Carthaginian (*Poenus*); cf. VM 1.1.ext.2.

Well done too that flower of the equestrian order through whose extraordinary valour Master of Horse Fabius Maximus Rullianus in war against the Samnites escaped the reproach of battle badly joined. When Papirius Cursor left for the city to seek new auspices, Fabius was put in command and forbidden to lead the army into battle. None the less he engaged the enemy, but no less unsuccessfully than rashly; beyond a doubt he was getting the worst of it. But our noble warriors took the bridles off their horses and spurring vigorously drove them into the Samnite ranks. Thus by determination and ready courage they wrested victory from the enemies' grasp and restored it along with the promise of a great citizen to their country.[14]

And then how stout were those soldiers who pulled back to shore a Punic ship urged in flight by vigorous oarstrokes, as they swam in the slippery places of the sea (?) like infantry on solid ground![15]

Of the same period and stripe was a soldier at the battle of Cannae, in which Hannibal battered the Romans' strength rather than broke their spirit. His wounded hands were useless for holding arms, so clasping the neck of a Numidian[16] who was trying to despoil him, he gnawed the man's nose and ears, disfiguring his face, and expired vengefully biting. Put aside the iniquitous outcome of the battle, how much braver was the slain than the slayer! Vulnerable in victory, the Carthaginian consoled his dying foe, the Roman in the final moments of his life became his own avenger.[17]

[17] 216: Livy 22.51.9, Sil. Ital. 6.41–53.

12 Militis hic in adverso casu tam egregius tamque virilis animus quam ‹quem›[18] relaturus sum imperatoris: P. enim Crassus, cum Aristonico bellum in Asia gerens, a Thracibus, quorum is magnum numerum in praesidio habebat, inter Elaeam et Myrinam[19] exceptus, ne in dicionem eius perveniret, dedecus arcessita ratione mortis effugit: virgam enim, qua ad regendum equum usus fuerat, in unius barbari oculum derexit. qui vi doloris accensus latus Crassi sica confodit, dumque se ulciscitur, Romanum imperatorem maiestatis amissae turpitudine liberavit. ostendit Fortunae Crassus quam indignum virum tam gravi contumelia adficere voluisset, quoniam quidem iniectos ab ea libertati suae miserabiles laqueos prudenter pariter ac fortiter rupit, donatumque se iam Aristonico dignitati suae reddidit.

13 Eodem mentis proposito usus est Scipio ‹Metellus›,[20] namque infeliciter Cn. Pompeii generi sui defensis in Africa partibus, classe Hispaniam petens, cum animadvertisset navem qua vehebatur ab hostibus captam, gladio praecordia sua transverberavit, ac deinde prostratus in puppi quaerentibus Caesarianis militibus ubinam esset imperator respondit 'imperator se bene habet,' tantumque eloqui valuit quantum ad testandam animi fortitudinem aeternae laudi satis erat.

14 Tui quoque clarissimi excessus, Cato, Utica monumentum est, in qua ex fortissimis vulneribus tuis plus gloriae

[18] *add.* ς [19] Myrinam [*Front.*] *Strat. 4.15.16*: Smirnam A, L *corr.*: Zmyr- P [20] *add.* P

---

[18] Mucianus. [19] 130: Flor. 1.35.4 etc. (cf. Broughton I.503). [20] Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio, Consul in 52.

This spirit of the soldier in adversity was as extraordinary and manly as the general's which I am about to relate. P. Crassus[18] was waging war in Asia against Aristonicus, when he was captured between Elaea and Myrina by Thracians, of whom Aristonicus had a large number in his army. To avoid falling into his power Crassus escaped dishonour by a mode of death of his own inviting. He thrust a rod which he had used for governing his horse into the eye of one of the barbarians. Infuriated by the violence of the pain, the man drove his dagger deep into Crassus' side, and in avenging himself freed the Roman general from the disgrace of lost majesty. Crassus showed Fortune how little the man on whom she had wished to inflict so grievous a humiliation deserved it, breaking the pitiable bonds she had laid on his liberty no less wisely than bravely. Already given over to Aristonicus, he returned himself to his dignity.[19]

Scipio Metellus[20] acted with the same determination. He had unsuccessfully defended the cause of his son-in-law Cn. Pompeius in Africa and was making for Spain by sea. Seeing that the ship in which he was sailing had been taken by the enemy, he ran a sword through his breast. Then as he lay prostrate in the poop, he answered the Caesarian soldiers who asked where the general was, "The general is all right." He could speak just so much as sufficed to testify to his bravery for his everlasting renown.[21]

Utica is a monument to your illustrious end, Cato, where from your bravest of wounds more glory flowed

[21] 46: Livy *Per.* 114 etc. (Broughton II.297; add Sen. *Suas.* 6.2).

quam sanguinis manavit: si quidem constantissime in gladium incumbendo magnum hominibus documentum dedisti quanto potior esse debeat probis dignitas sine vita quam vita sine dignitate.

15 Cuius filia minime muliebris animi. quae, cum Bruti viri sui consilium quod de interficiendo ceperat Caesare ea nocte quam dies taeterrimi facti secutus est cognosset, egresso cubiculum Bruto cultellum tonsorium quasi unguium resecandorum causa poposcit, eoque velut forte elapso se vulneravit. clamore deinde ancillarum in cubiculum revocatus, Brutus obiurgare eam coepit, quod tonsoris praeripuisset officium. cui secreto Porcia 'non est hoc' inquit 'temerarium factum meum, sed in tali statu nostro amoris mei erga te certissimum indicium: experiri enim volui, si tibi propositum parum ex sententia cessisset, quam aequo animo me ferro essem interemptura.'

16 Felicior progenie sua superior Cato, a quo Porciae familiae principia manarunt. qui cum ab hoste in acie vehementer †parvulo†[21] peteretur, vagina gladius eius elapsus decidit. quem subiectum proeliantium globo atque undique hostilibus pedibus circumdatum postquam abesse sibi animadvertit, adeo constanti animo in suam potestatem redegit ut illum non periculo oppressus rapere, sed metu vacuus sumere videretur. quo spectaculo attoniti hostes postero die ad eum supplices, pacem petentes, venerunt.

[21] parvulo * AL: sparulo *Per.;* Br

---

[22] 46: *Bell. Afr.* 88 etc. (Broughton II.298). [23] 44: Plut. *Brut.* 13 etc. [24] Cato the Censor's son fought at Pydna (168): Plut. *Cat. mai.* 20, *Aem. Paul.* 21, Justin 33.2. As commonly understood, "happier than his descendant," i.e. than the younger Cato,

than blood. Falling resolutely on your sword, you gave a great testimony to mankind how much more desirable to men of worth should be dignity without life than life without dignity.[22]

His daughter was of no womanish spirit. Learning of her husband Brutus' design to kill Caesar, on the night before the day of that foul deed, Brutus having left the bedroom, she asked for a barber's knife to trim her nails and wounded herself with it, pretending that it had slipped by accident. Called back to the bedroom by the cries of the maidservants, Brutus started to scold her for forestalling the barber's function. Porcia said to him in private: "What I did was no accident; in the plight we are in it was the surest token of my love for you. I wanted to try out how coolly I could kill myself with steel if your plan did not turn out as you hope."[23]

More fortunate in his progeny was Cato the elder, from whom the beginnings of the Porcian family proceeded. When he was under a violent attack by the enemy in battle, his sword slipped from the scabbard and fell on the ground, where it lay under the knot of men fighting, surrounded by enemy feet on all sides. When he noticed its absence, he retrieved it so coolly that it was as though he was not snatching it under pressure of danger but picking it up with nothing to fear. The enemy were amazed at the sight and came to him the next day begging for peace.[24]

whose daughter perished miserably. We then have the elder Cato and his son confused in what follows. But *qui* (with feminine antecedent "according to sense") is the son, even though the enemies suing for peace suggest the father (a temporary aberration on Valerius' part?). At best the writing is obscure and ambiguous.

17 Togae quoque fortitudo militaribus operibus inserenda est, quia eandem laudem foro atque castris edita meretur. cum Ti. Gracchus in tribunatu, profusissimis largitionibus favore populi occupato, rem publicam oppressam teneret, palamque dictitaret interempto senatu omnia per plebem agi debere, in aedem Fidei Publicae convocati patres conscripti a consule Mucio Scaevola quidnam in tali tempestate faciendum esset deliberabant, cunctisque censentibus ut consul armis rem publicam tueretur, Scaevola negavit se quicquam vi esse acturum. tum Scipio Nasica, 'quoniam' inquit 'consul, dum iuris ordinem sequitur, id agit ut cum omnibus legibus Romanum imperium corruat, egomet me privatus voluntati vestrae ducem offero,' ac deinde laevam manum ‹im›a[22] parte togae circumdedit, sublataque dextra proclamavit 'qui rem publicam salvam esse volunt me sequantur,' eaque voce cunctatione bonorum civium discussa, Gracchum cum scelerata factione quas merebatur poenas persolvere coegit.

18 Item, cum tribunus plebis Saturninus et praetor Glaucia et Equitius designatus tribunus plebis maximos in civitate nostra seditionum motus excitavissent, nec quisquam se populo concitato opponeret, primus M. Aemilius Scaurus C. Marium consulatum sextum gerentem hortatus est ut libertatem legesque manu defenderet, protinusque arma sibi adferri iussit. quibus allatis ultima senectute

[22] *add. Kempf*

---

[25] P. Mucius Scaevola, Consul in 133.

[26] P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica Sarapio, Consul in 138.

[27] *Rhet. ad Herenn.* 4.68, Vell. 2.3, Plut. *Ti. Gracch.* 19 etc.

Bravery in the gown calls for mention among military exploits, for bravery deserves the same praise whether shown in Forum or camp. Ti. Gracchus in his Tribunate had captured popular favour by profuse largesses and held the commonwealth under his thumb. He said often and openly that the senate should be killed and everything handled through the commons. The Conscript Fathers were called together by Consul Mucius Scaevola[25] in the temple of Public Faith and were deliberating on what should be done in such a crisis. Everybody thought the Consul should protect the commonwealth by armed force, but Scaevola refused to take any violent action. Then spoke Scipio Nasica:[26] "Since the Consul, following legal process, is for letting the Roman empire collapse along with all the laws, I offer myself as a private individual to lead your will." Then he wrapped the hem of his gown around his left hand and raised his right, shouting, "Let those who want to save the commonwealth follow me." With that call he dissipated the hesitation of good citizens and made Gracchus and his criminal supporters pay the penalty they deserved.[27]

Likewise, when Tribune of the Plebs Saturninus and Praetor Glaucia and Tribune of the Plebs Designate Equitius had stirred up major movements of sedition in our community and no one was offering any opposition to the excited populace, first M. Aemilius Scaurus called on C. Marius, now in his sixth Consulship, to defend liberty and law by force; and straightway he ordered weapons to be brought to himself. When they arrived, he put them

The first of these is an exception to the chorus of approval in the ancient sources.

confectum et paene dilapsum corpus induit, spiculoque innixus ante fores curiae constitit, <ictuque saxi vulneratus est,>[23] ac parvulis extremi[24] spiritus reliquiis ne res publica exspiraret effecit: praesentia enim animi sui senatum et equestrem ordinem ad vindictam exigendam impulit.

19 Sed ut armorum et togae superius, nunc etiam siderum clarum decus, divum Iulium, certissimam verae virtutis effigiem, repraesentemus, cum innumerabili multitudine et feroci impetu Nerviorum inclinari aciem suam videret, timidius pugnanti militi scutum detraxit eoque tectus acerrime proeliari coepit. quo facto fortitudinem per totum exercitum diffudit, labentemque belli fortunam divino animi ardore restituit. idem alio proelio legionis Martiae aquiliferum, ineundae fugae gratia iam conversum faucibus comprehensum, in contrariam partem retraxit[25] dexteramque ad hostem tendens 'quorsum tu' inquit 'abis? illic sunt cum quibus dimicamus.' et manibus quidem unum militem, adhortatione vero tam acri omnium legionum trepidationem correxit, vincique paratas vincere docuit.

20 Ceterum ut humanae virtutis actum exsequamur, cum Hannibal Capuam, in qua Romanus exercitus erat, obsideret, Vibius Accaus,[26] Paelignae cohortis praefectus, vexil-

[23] *add.* P; Br
[24] extremi A *corr.*: et extremi A, L *corr.*, G: et extremis L
[25] retraxit *Per.*: detr-* AL
[26] Accaus P: Acceus AL; Br

---

[28] A notable specimen of Valerian hyperbole. Scaurus was a little over 60 at the time, with another ten years or so of active life ahead of him. [29] 100: Cic. *Rab. perd.* 21.
[30] 57: Caes. *Bell. Gall.* 2.25, Plut. *Caes.* 20.

upon his body, exhausted and almost fallen apart as it was through extreme old age,[28] and leaning on a spear took his stand before the doors of the senate house and was wounded by the blow of a stone. Thus by the scanty remnants of his final breath he saved the commonwealth from breathing its last. For by his ready courage he impelled the senate and the equestrian order to exact retribution.[29]

Now let us set forth the bright glory of the stars, as formerly of arms and the gown, the divine Julius, surest image of true valour. When he saw his battle line giving way before the countless numbers and fierce onrush of the Nervii, he seized a shield from a soldier who was fighting rather timidly and covering himself with it started to battle most vigorously. His action spread bravery throughout the army and by the divine ardour of his soul he restored the failing fortune of war.[30] In another battle[31] Caesar took by the throat an eagle-bearer of the Martian legion who had already turned to run away and twisted him back in the opposite direction. Stretching out his hand toward the enemy, "Where are *you* going?" he said. "Yonder are the men we are fighting." With his hands he corrected a single soldier, but with so vigorous an exhortation he stemmed the panic of all the legions, teaching them to vanquish when they were ready for defeat.

To pursue further the action of human valour: when Hannibal was besieging Capua with a Roman army inside,[32] Vibius Accaus, Prefect of a Paelignian cohort, flung

[31] Mentioned by Plutarch, *Caes.* 52, and Appian, *B.C.* 2.95, in connection with Caesar's African campaign in 47–46; cf. Suet. *Iul.* 62. [32] 212: Livy 25.14.4–7. Actually the Roman army was besieging Hanno's camp near Beneventum.

lum trans Punicum vallum proiecit, se ipsum suosque commilitones, si signo hostes potiti essent, exsecratus, et ad id petendum subsequente cohorte primus impetum fecit. quod ut Valerius Flaccus, tribunus tertiae legionis, aspexit, conversus ad suos 'spectatores' inquit, 'ut video, alienae virtutis huc venimus; sed absit istud dedecus a sanguine nostro, ut Romani gloria cedere Latinis velimus. ego certe, aut speciosam optans[27] mortem aut felicem audaciae exitum, vel solus praecurrere paratus sum.' his auditis Pedanius centurio, convulsum signum dextra retinens, 'iam hoc' inquit 'intra hostile vallum mecum erit: proinde sequantur qui id capi nolunt,' et cum eo in castra Poenorum irrupit totamque secum traxit legionem. ita trium hominum fortis temeritas Hannibalem, paulo ante spe sua Capuae possessorem,[28] ne castrorum quidem suorum potentem esse passa est.

21 Quorum virtuti nihil cedit Q. Occius, qui propter fortitudinem Achilles cognominatus est: nam ut reliqua eius opera non exsequar, abunde tamen duobus factis, quae relaturus sum, quantus bellator fuerit cognoscetur. Q. Metello consuli[29] legatus in Hispaniam profectus, Celtibericum sub eo bellum gerens, postquam cognovit a quodam gentis huius iuvene se ad dimicandum provocari—erat autem illi forte prandendi gratia posita mensa—, relicta ea arma sua extra vallum deferri equumque educi clam iussit,

[27] optans *Kempf*: -avi AL; Br [28] possessorem *Watt*[4]: potiorem* AG: petitorem L: pot- A *corr.*, L *corr.*

[29] consuli *Halm*: coñs AL

---

[33] Possibly L. Valerius Flaccus, Cato's colleague as Consul and Censor.

his standard across the Punic rampart pronouncing a curse on himself and his comrades should the enemy get possession of the ensign, and dashed forward at the head of the cohort to take it. When he saw that, Valerius Flaccus,[33] a Tribune of the third legion, turned to his men. "We came here, I see," said he, "to be spectators of others' valour. But far be that dishonour from our blood that we Romans should let ourselves yield in glory to Latins. I for one pray to die with distinction or dare with a happy ending. Even on my own I am ready to run ahead." Hearing his words, Centurion Pedanius pulled up his standard and holding it in his hand, "This," he said, "will soon be with me inside the enemy rampart; so follow me those who don't want it taken." And he broke into the Punic camp with the standard and drew the whole legion with him. So the rash courage of three men cost Hannibal, who a little earlier thought to be master of Capua, the possession of his own camp.

To their valour Q. Occius, who was surnamed Achilles[34] because of his bravery, yields no jot. For though I do not detail his other exploits, the two deeds I am about to relate will be quite enough to show what a great warrior he was.[35] He went to Spain as Legate to Consul Q. Metellus and fought under him in the Celtiberian War.[36] Hearing that he was being challenged to mortal combat by a warrior of that nation, he left the table (one had been placed for him to take luncheon as it chanced) and ordered his arms to be carried outside the rampart and his horse led out secretly,

[34] The same is said of Siccius (alias Sicinius) Dentatus (cf. VM 3.2.24) in Gell. 2.11.1 and Fest. 208 Lindsay. [35] Cf. Livy *Per. Oxyrrh.* 54; but cf. App. *Ib.* 78 (Broughton I.476 n.4).

[36] In 143–42.

ne a Metello impediretur, et illum Celtiberum insolentissime obequitantem consectatus interemit, detractasque corpori eius exuvias ovans laetitia in castra rettulit. idem Pyresum nobilitate ac virtute omnes Celtiberos praestantem, cum ab eo in certamen pugnae devocatus esset, succumbere sibi coegit. nec erubuit flagrantissimi pectoris iuvenis gladium ei suum et sagulum, utroque exercitu spectante, tradere. ille vero etiam petiit ut hospitii iure inter se iuncti essent, quando inter Romanos et Celtiberos pax foret restituta.

22 Ne Acilium quidem praeterire possumus, qui, cum decimae legionis miles pro C. Caesaris partibus maritima pugna proeliaretur, abscisa dextra, quam Massiliensium navi iniecerat, laeva puppim apprehendit nec ante dimicare destitit quam captam profundo mergeret. quod factum parum iusta notitia patet. at Cynegirum Atheniensem simili pertinacia in consectandis hostibus usum verbosa cantu laudum suarum Graecia omnium saeculorum memoriae litterarum praeconio inculca<vi>t.[30]

23a Classicam Acilii gloriam terrestri laude M. Caesius[31] Scaeva, eiusdem imperatoris centurio, subsecutus est: cum pro castello enim, cui praepositus erat, dimicaret, Gnaeique Pompeii praefectus Iustuleius[32] summo studio

[30] *add. Kempf* [31] Cassius *Briscoe*
[32] Iustuleius *Halm*: -etus P: iussu eius AL

---

[37] Suet. *Iul.* 68.4 (also comparing Cynegirus), Plut. *Caes.* 16. Caesar does not mention him.

[38] At Dyrrachium in 48: Caes. *Bell. Civ.* 3.53.4f. etc. His nomen seems to have been Cassius (*RE* Cassius 87), under which he is coupled with Acilius in Suetonius and Plutarch (see above).

in case Metellus might interfere. Then he made for that Celtiberian as he insolently rode up and slew him, after which he carried the spoils stripped from his body back to camp in high fettle. Challenged too by Pyresus, who excelled all the Celtiberians in nobility and valour, to a duel, he forced him to yield. Nor did that fiery-hearted young man blush to hand over to Occius his sword and cloak in sight of the army. He even begged that they might join in a bond of guest-friendship when peace had been restored between Romans and Celtiberians.

Nor can we pass over Acilius,[37] a soldier of the tenth legion, who was fighting on C. Caesar's side in a naval battle. When his right hand, which he had laid upon a Massilian ship, was cut off, he grasped the poop with his left and did not stop fighting until he had taken her and sunk her in the deep. His deed is not as widely known as it ought to be. But Greece, lavish of words in singing her own praises, has, by the proclaiming voice of literature, impressed upon the memory of all ages Cynegirus of Athens, who showed a like pertinacity in attacking the enemy.

The naval glory of Acilius is followed with terrestrial renown by M. Caesius Scaeva, a Centurion of the same general. He was fighting in front of the fort of which he was in command,[38] while Justuleius, a Prefect of Cn. Pom-

Suetonius mentions only the Dyrrachium episode, Plutarch has the British one as well, but his anonymous στρατιώτης can hardly be identical with Scaeva, whom he has just named. And Valerius too in 23b evidently introduces a new figure with *tuum vero*. Kempf's conjecture *Scaevi* was based on Dio 37.53.3, where the same story is told of one P. Scaevius (Scaefius? See *RE* Scaefius) and located in Lusitania during Caesar's Propraetorship in 60. Plutarch's transfer to Britain is easily understandable.

et magno militum numero ad id[33] capiendum niteretur, omnes qui propius accesserant interemit, ac sine ullo regressu pedis[34] pugnans super ingentem stragem, quam ipse fecerat, corruit. cuius capite umero femine saucio, oculo eruto, scutum centum et viginti ictibus perfossum apparuit.

Tales in castris divi Iulii disciplina milites aluit, quorum alter dextera, alter oculo amisso hostibus inhaesit, ille post hanc iacturam victor, hic ne hac quidem iactura victus.

23b Tuum vero, Scaevi,[35] inexsuperabilem spiritum in utra parte rerum naturae admiratione prosequar nescio, quoniam excellenti virtute dubium reliquisti inter undasne pugnam fortiorem edideris an in terra vocem miseris. bello namque quo C. Caesar, non contentus opera sua litoribus Oceani claudere, Britannicae insulae caelestes iniecit manus, cum quattuor commilitonibus rate transvectus in scopulum vicinum insulae quam hostium ingentes copiae obtinebant, postquam aestus regressu suo spatium quo scopulus et insula dividebantur in vadum transitu facile redegit, ingenti multitudine barbarorum adfluente, ceteris rate ad litus regressis solus immobilem stationis gradum retinens, undique ruentibus telis et ‹hostibus›[36] ab omni parte acri studio ad te invadendum nitentibus, quinque militum diurno proelio suffectura pila una dextera hostium corporibus adegisti. ad ultimum destricto gladio, audacissimum quemque modo umbonis impulsu, modo mucronis ictu depellens, hinc Romanis, illinc Britannicis

[33] id *Torr.*: eum AL
[34] pedis *Gelbcke, Halm*: pedes AL
[35] Scaevi *Kempf*: -va AL
[36] *add. SB*

peius, was striving might and main with a large number of soldiers to take the position. Scaeva killed all who came near and fighting without a single backward step fell on top of a huge heap of dead that he had made himself. He was wounded in the head, shoulder, and thigh, had an eye gouged out, his shield was pitted by a hundred and twenty blows.

Such soldiers did discipline nurture in the camp of the divine Julius. They stuck to the enemy, the one after sacrificing his right hand, the other his eye; the one after that loss victorious, the other even by that loss unvanquished.

But I know not, Scaevius, in which half of the world I should follow in admiration your unconquerable spirit, since by your outstanding valour you left it doubtful whether you put up a braver fight among the waves or let out a braver utterance on land. In the war in which C. Caesar, not content to bound his exploits with the shores of Ocean, laid celestial hands on the island of Britannia, you were carried by ship with four comrades to a rock close to the island, which latter was occupied by a vast enemy force. When the retreating tide changed the space dividing rock and island into a ford easy to cross, a vast horde of barbarians streamed in. The other Romans returned by their ship to the shore, but you held your post alone without moving, and while weapons rushed around and the enemy strove eagerly from all sides to invade you, with your one right hand you hurled upon the bodies of the foe a quantity of javelins sufficient to last five soldiers in a day's battle. At last you drew your sword and driving off the boldest of your adversaries now by push of shield-boss, now by stroke of blade, you became a sight incredible to Roman eyes on

oculis incredibili, nisi cernereris, spectaculo fuisti. postquam deinde ira ac pudor cuncta conari fessos coegit, tragula femur traiectus saxique pondere ora contusus, galea iam ictibus discussa et scuto crebris foraminibus absumpto, profundo te credidisti ac duabus loricis onustus inter undas, quas hostili cruore infeceras, enasti, visoque imperatore armis non amissis sed bene impensis, cum laudem merereris, veniam petisti, magnus proelio, sed maior disciplinae militaris memoria. itaque ab optimo virtutis aestimatore cum facta tum etiam verba tua centurionatus honore donata sunt.

24 Sed quod ad proeliatorum excellentem fortitudinem attinet, merito L. Siccii Dentati commemoratio omnia Romana exempla finierit, cuius opera honoresque operum ultra fidem veri excedere iudicari possent, nisi ea certi auctores, inter quos M. Varro, monumentis suis testata esse voluissent. quem centies et vicies in aciem descendisse tradunt, eo robore animi atque corporis utentem ut maiorem semper victoriae partem traxisse videretur: sex et triginta spolia ex hoste rettulisse, quorum in numero octo fuisse ⟨eorum⟩[37] cum quibus, inspectante utroque exercitu, ex provocatione dimicasset, quattuordecim cives ex media morte raptos servasse, quinque et quadraginta vulnera pectore excepisse, tergo cicatricibus vacuo: novem triumphales imperatorum currus secutum, totius civitatis oculos in se numerosa donorum pompa convertentem:

[37] *add. Gertz ex* P

---

[39] Dion Hal. 10.36.2 etc. In some sources he appears as Sicinius or Sergius and his period is problematical. See *RE* Siccius 3.

the one side and British on the other—were it not that you were seen. Then when anger and shame forced them weary as they were to try any and every means, you, with your thigh run through by a spear, your face smashed by a heavy stone, your helmet hacked to pieces, and your shield disintegrated with many a perforation, committed yourself to the deep. Loaded with two breastplates, you swam out from the waves which you had stained with enemy gore. When you saw your general with your shield not lost but well expended, though deserving praise, you asked pardon: great in battle, but greater in mindfulness of military discipline. And so that excellent judge of valour presented both your deeds and your words with the honour of promotion to Centurion.

So far as concerns the conspicuous bravery of fighters, commemoration of L. Siccius Dentatus[39] will deservedly conclude all Roman examples. His deeds and the honours they brought him might be thought to go beyond the credible had not reliable sources, M. Varro among them, chosen to attest them in their works. They say he fought in one hundred and twenty battles with such stoutness of heart and body that he always seemed more than half responsible for the victory; that he brought back thirty-six spoils from enemies, with eight of whom he fought on challenge in sight of both armies; that he saved the lives of fourteen compatriots snatched from the jaws of death; that he received five and forty wounds on his chest, but his back was clear of scars; that he followed the triumphal cars of nine generals and turned the eyes of the whole community upon himself by the array of his many awards. For

praeferebantur enim aureae coronae octo, civicae quattuordecim, murales tres, obsidionalis una, torques octoginta tres, armillae centum sexaginta, hastae octodecim, phalerae quinque et viginti, ornamenta etiam legioni, nedum militi satis multa.

ext. 1 Ille quoque ex pluribus corporibus in unum magna cum admiratione Calibus cruor confusus est. in quo oppido cum Fulvius Flaccus Campanam perfidiam principes civitatis ante tribunal suum capitali supplicio adficiendo vindicaret, litterisque a senatu acceptis finem poenae eorum statuere cogeretur, ultro se ei C. Vibellius[38] Taurea Campanus obtulit, et quam potuit clara voce 'quoniam' inquit, 'Fulvi, tanta cupiditate hauriendi sanguinis nostri teneris, quid cessas in me cruentam securem destringere, ut gloriari possis fortiorem aliquanto virum quam ipse es tuo iussu esse interemptum?' eo deinde libenter id se fuisse facturum, nisi senatus voluntate impediretur, adfirmante, 'at me' inquit, 'cui nihil patres conscripti praeceperunt, aspice, oculis quidem tuis gratum, animo vero tuo maius opus edentem,' protinusque interfecta coniuge ac liberis gladio incubuit. quem illum virum putemus fuisse, qui suorum ac sua caede testari voluit se Fulvii crudelitatem suggillare quam senatus misericordia uti maluisse?

[38] C. *Briscoe*: T(itus) AL Vibellius *H. J. Mueller*: -elus A: Iubelius L: Iubellius ς

---

[40] Awarded according to some (see OLD) to a general for freeing a garrison from siege. Siccius was not a general (*imperator*) but might have commanded a detachment.

[41] Metal discs worn as decorations.

eight gold crowns were borne in front of him, fourteen civic crowns, three mural, one obsidional,[40] eighty-three collars, one hundred and sixty armlets, eighteen spears, twenty-five bosses:[41] decorations enough for a legion, let alone a soldier.

EXTERNAL

At Cales the blood from many bodies was mingled together to great wonderment. In that town Fulvius Flaccus took vengeance for Campanian perfidy by inflicting capital punishment on the leaders of that community before his tribunal, but was obliged by a letter received from the senate to set an end to their suffering. To that suffering T. Vibellius Taurea the Campanian voluntarily offered himself, crying out as loudly as he could: "Fulvius, since you are seized with so strong a desire to drain our blood, why are you so slow to draw your gory axe against me, so that you can boast that a rather braver man than yourself has been killed by your orders?" Fulvius then averred that he would have done that with pleasure, if he were not prevented by the will of the senate. "But I have had no instructions from the Conscript Fathers," said Vibellius. "Look at me as I show you action welcome to your eyes but greater than your spirit." And straightway he killed his wife and children and fell upon his sword. What kind of man should we think him, who chose to testify by the slaughter of himself and his that he would rather blacken Fulvius' cruelty than avail himself of the senate's mercy?[42]

[42] 211: Livy 26.15, Sil. Ital 13.369–380. Presumably Vibellius had evaded arrest. His praenomen was not T. but perhaps Cerrinus (so in Livy) becoming C. (so Briscoe reads), then T.; cf. Gundel in *RE* Vibellius 2.

ext. 2 Age, Darei quantus ardor animi! qui, cum sordida et crudeli magorum tyrannide Persas liberaret, unumque ex iis obscuro loco abiectum corporis pondere urgeret, praeclari operis socio plagam ei inferre dubitanti, ne dum magum petit, ipsum vulneraret, 'tu vero' inquit 'nihil est quod respectu mei timidius gladio utaris: vel per utrumque illum agas licet, dum hic quam celerrime pereat.'

ext. 3 Hoc loci Leonidas, nobilis Spartanus, occurrit, cuius proposito opere exitu nihil fortius: nam cum trecentis civibus apud Thermopylas toti Asiae obiectus gravem illum et mari et terrae Xerxen nec hominibus tantum terribilem sed Neptuno quoque compedes et caelo tenebras minitantem, pertinacia virtutis ad ultimam desperationem redegit. ceterum perfidia et scelere incolarum eius regionis [et][39] loci opportunitate, qua plurimum adiuvabatur, spoliatus, occidere dimicans quam adsignatam sibi a patria stationem deserere maluit, adeoque alacri animo suos ad id proelium quo perituri erant cohortatus est ut diceret 'sic prandete, commilitones, tamquam apud inferos cenaturi.' mors erat denuntiata: Lacedaemonii, perinde ac victoria esset promissa, dicto intrepidi paruerunt.

ext. 4 Othryadae quoque pugna pariter ac morte speciosa Thyreatium laude quam spatio latius solum cernitur. qui sanguine suo scriptis litteris dereptam[40] hostibus victoriam tantum non post fata sua in sinum patriae cruento

[39] *del. Kempf*
[40] dereptam *Per.*: dir- AL

---

[43] Darius I became king of Persia in 521: Herod. 3.78, Justin 1.9.22. Valerius has reversed the roles of the two, Darius and Gobryas.

And now what an ardent spirit was Darius'![43] As he was freeing the Persians from the shabby and cruel tyranny of the magi, he was pressing one of them, who had been thrown aside out of sight, with the weight of his body. To a partner in that noble work who hesitated to strike the magus lest aiming at him he wound Darius, "No need," he said, "to use your sword less boldly out of thought for me. You may drive it through both of us, so long as *he* dies as soon as may be."

At this point Leonidas, the famous Spartan, comes to mind. Nothing could be braver than his resolve, his act, his death. With three hundred compatriots he had to face all Asia at Thermopylae and by determined valour he reduced Xerxes, that bully of sea and land, not only terrible to men but threatening even Neptune with chains and the sky with darkness, to ultimate desperation. But by the treachery and villainy of the inhabitants of that district he was deprived of the advantage of position, which was his mainstay. So he preferred to die fighting rather than desert the post assigned to him by his country, and so cheerfully did he exhort his men to the battle in which they were to perish as to tell them: "Take lunch, comrades, and expect dinner down below." Death was pronounced; the Lacedaemonians obeyed his word fearlessly, as though they had been promised victory.[44]

The soil of the men of the Thyreatis is seen broader in glory than in extent through the fight and death, both equally splendid, of Othryades. With letters written in his blood he might almost be said to have snatched victory from the enemy and brought it back after his death into his

[44] 480: Herod. 7.204ff. etc.

tropaei titulo rettulit.

ext. 5 Excellentissimos Spartanae virtutis proventus miserabilis lapsus sequitur. Epaminondas, maxima Thebarum felicitas idemque Lacedaemonis prima clades, cum vetustam eius urbis gloriam invictamque ad id tempus publicam virtutem apud Leuctram et Mantineam secundis proeliis contudisset, traiectus hasta, sanguine et spiritu deficiens recreare se conantes primum an clipeus suus salvus esset, deinde an penitus fusi hostes forent interrogavit. quae postquam ex animi sententia comperit, 'non finis' inquit, 'commilitones, vitae meae, sed melius et auctius[41] initium advenit: nunc enim vester Epaminondas nascitur, quia sic moritur. Thebas ductu et auspiciis meis caput Graeciae factas video, et fortis et animosa civitas Spartana iacet armis nostris abiecta: amara dominatione Graecia liberata est. orbus quidem,[42] non tamen sine liberis morior, quoniam mirificas filias Leuctram et Mantineam relinquo.' e corpore deinde suo hastam educi iussit, eoque vultu[43] exspiravit quo, si eum di immortales victoriis suis perfrui passi essent, sospes patriae moenia intrasset.

ext. 6 Ac ne Theramenis quidem Atheniensis in publica custodia mori coacti parva mentis constantia, [in][44] qua triginta tyrannorum iussu porrectam veneni potionem non du-

[41] auctius G: athius AL; Br [42] quidem *Eberhard*: quoque AL [43] vultu *Madvig*: vulnere AL [44] *del. Heller*

---

[45] About 550: Herod. 1.82, Ov. *Fast.* 2.663–66 etc. The fight between Argives and Spartans for the border district of Thyrea is heavily encrusted with legend. The version followed by Valerius had Othryades put an inscription in his own blood on the trophy

country's bosom by a trophy gorily inscribed.[45]

The outstanding successes of Spartan valour are followed by pitiable failure. Epaminondas was Thebes' greatest felicity and Lacedaemon's first disaster. When he had hammered that city's ancient glory and hitherto undefeated public valour in battles won at Leuctra and Mantinea, he was run through by a spear. As blood and breath failed, he asked those who were trying to rally him, first whether his shield was safe, and then whether the enemy had been thoroughly routed. Learning that these matters were as he wished, he said: "Comrades, this is not the end of my life, but a better and bigger beginning. For now your Epaminondas is being born because he is dying thus. I see Thebes made head of Greece by my auspices and leadership. The brave, proud Spartan state lies low, cast down by our arms. Greece has been freed from a harsh despotism. I die childless, and yet not without children since I leave my wonderful daughters, Leuctra and Mantinea." Then he ordered the spear drawn out of his body and expired with the countenance with which, had the immortal gods permitted him to enjoy his victories, he would have lived to enter his country's walls.[46]

Theramenes of Athens too, forced to die in public custody, showed no small resolution. Without hesitation he drained the potion of poison proffered to him by order of the Thirty Tyrants and playfully dashed what was left

commemorating the Spartan victory in the combat of three against three.

[46] 362 (battle of Mantinea): Nep. *Epam.* 9, Cic. *Fam.* 5.12.5, *Fin.* 2.97 etc. For *vultu* cf. VM 4.1.13 *eundem constat pari vultu et exsulem fuisse et restitutum.*

bitanter hausit, quodque ex ea superfuerat iocabundus illisum humo clarum edere sonum coegit, renidensque servo publico, qui eam tradiderat, 'Critiae' inquit 'propino: vide igitur ut hoc poculum ad eum continuo perferas.' erat autem is ex triginta tyrannis crudelissimus. profecto supplicio est se liberare tam facile supplicium perpeti. itaque Theramenes perinde atque in domestico lectulo moriens vita excessit, inimicorum existimatione punitus, suo iudicio finitus.

ext. 7 Sed Theramenes a litteris et doctrina virilitatem traxit, Numantino vero Rhoetogeni ad consimilem virtutem capessendam quasi magistra gentis suae ferocitas exstitit: perditis namque et adflictis rebus Numantinorum, cum omnes cives nobilitate pecunia honoribus praestaret, vicum suum, qui in ea urbe speciosissimus erat, contractis undique nutrimentis ignis, incendit: ‹tum ex tota urbe populum convocavit,›[45] protinusque strictum gladium in medio posuit ac binos inter se dimicare iussit, ut victus incisa cervice ardentibus tectis superiaceretur. qui, cum tam forti lege mortis omnes absumpsisset, ad ultimum se ipse flammis immersit.

ext. 8 Verum ut aeque populo Romano inimicae urbis excidium referam, Carthagine capta uxor Hasdrubalis, exprobrata ei impietate, quod a Scipione soli sibi impetrare vitam contentus fuisset, dextra laevaque communes filios

[45] *add. SB*[3]

---

[47] 404: Xen *Hellen.* 2.3.56, Cic. *Tusc.* 1.96. In the game of kottabos the lees in a wine cup were thrown at a mark.

[48] 133. Livy *Per.* 59, Sen. *De ira* 1.11.7 etc.

on the ground with an audible splash. Then he said with a smile to the public slave who had handed it to him: "I pledge Critias; so see that you take this cup to him straight away." Critias was the cruellest of the Thirty Tyrants. Surely to bear execution so easily is to free oneself from execution. And so Theramenes passed from life as though dying at home in bed; punished as his enemies thought, but in his own judgment simply terminated.[47]

Theramenes, however, drew manliness from letters and learning, whereas Rhoetogenes of Numantia was taught as it were to show a like valour by the fierce spirit of his race. Numantia was lost and overthrown.[48] Rhoetogenes,[49] who excelled all his countrymen in birth, wealth, and honours, assembled combustibles from all sides and set his block of dwellings, the most handsome in the city, on fire. Then he summoned the people from all over the city and placed a drawn sword in the middle and told them to fight each other two by two, on the understanding that the loser's throat be cut and he thrown into the burning buildings. When he had consumed all of them under so brave a law of death, he finally plunged himself into the flames.

But to mention the razing of a city equally hostile to the Roman people, when Carthage was taken, Hasdrubal's wife reproached him with disloyalty in that he had been content to get Scipio's consent to spare his life for himself only. Then drawing their common children, who did not refuse death, with her right hand and her left, she exposed

[49] Two earlier episodes involve a man of this name; cf. VM 5.1.5, App. *Ib.* 94 with *RE* Rethogenes.

mortem non recusantes trahens, incendio se flagrantis patriae obiecit.

ext. 9 Muliebris fortitudinis exemplo aeque fortem duarum puellarum casum adiciam. cum pestifera seditione Syracusarum tota regis Gelonis stirps evidentissimis exhausta cladibus ad unicam filiam Harmoniam virginem esset redacta, et in eam certatim ab inimicis impetus fieret, nutrix eius aequalem illi puellam, regio cultu ornatam, hostilibus gladiis subiecit; quae ne cum ferro quidem trucidaretur cuius esset condicionis proclamavit. admirata illius animum Harmonia [et][46] tantae fidei superesse non sustinuit, revocatosque interfectores, professa quaenam esset, in caedem suam convertit. ita alteri tectum mendacium, alteri veritas aperta finis vitae fuit.

3. DE PATIENTIA

praef. Egregiis virorum pariter ac feminarum operibus Fortitudo se oculis hominum subiecit, Patientiamque in medium procedere hortata est, non sane infirmioribus radicibus stabilitam aut minus generoso spiritu abundantem, sed ita similitudine iunctam ut cum ea vel ex ea nata videri possit.

1 Quid enim iis quae supra rettuli facto Mucii convenientius? cum a Porsenna, rege Etruscorum, urbem nostram gravi ac diutino bello urgueri aegre ferret, castra eius clam ferro cinctus intravit, immolantemque ante altaria conatus

[46] *del. Halm*

---

[50] 146: Livy *Per.* 51, App. *Lib.* 131 etc.

herself to the flames of her burning country.[50]

To an example of female bravery I shall add the fate no less brave of two girls. A deadly civil strife in Syracuse had exhausted the entire race of king Gelo[51] in conspicuous tragedies and reduced it to his only daughter Harmonia, a virgin. When her enemies rushed upon her vying with one another, her nurse submitted a girl of the same age, got up in royal apparel, to the hostile swords; and even when she was being slaughtered with steel, she did not cry out what she really was. Harmonia admired her courage and could not bring herself to survive such loyalty. She called the killers back and turned them on to her own murder, revealing her identity. So for one a secret lie, for the other an opened truth was life's ending.

3. OF FORTITUDE

By the eminent exploits of male and female alike Bravery has put herself under men's eyes and exhorted Fortitude to come forward—Fortitude, anchored on roots no weaker and abounding in spirit no less noble, but so joined with her in similarity as to seem born with her or from her.

For what could be more conformable to the actions I have related above than this of Mucius? Indignant to see our city hard pressed with a severe and protracted war by Porsenna, king of the Etruscans, he entered the king's camp by stealth wearing a sword and tried to kill him as he

[51] Son of Hiero II, whom he predeceased in 215, so never reigned. Livy, 24.25.11f., mentions Harmonia's murder in the following year but without the colourful detail; he states that Gelo's sister and her two daughters were murdered subsequently.

occidere est. ceterum inter molitionem pii pariter ac fortis propositi oppressus, nec causam adventus texit et tormenta quantopere contemneret mira patientia ostendit: perosus enim, credo, dexteram suam, quod eius ministerio in caede regis uti nequisset, iniectam foculo exuri passus est. nullum profecto di immortales admotum aris cultum attentioribus oculis viderunt. ipsum quoque Porsennam, oblitum periculi sui, ultionem suam vertere in admirationem coegit: nam 'revertere' inquit 'ad tuos, Muci, et eis refer te, cum vitam meam petieris, a me vita donatum.' cuius clementiam non adulatus Mucius, tristior Porsennae salute quam sua laetior, urbi se cum aeternae gloriae cognomine Scaevolae reddidit.

2 Pompeii etiam probabilis virtus, qui, dum legationis officio fungitur, a rege Gentio interceptus, cum senatus consilia prodere iuberetur, ardenti lucernae admotum digitum cremandum praebuit, eaque patientia regi simul et desperationem tormentis quicquam ex se cognoscendi incussit et expetendae populi Romani amicitiae magnam cupiditatem ingeneravit.

Ac ne plura huiusce generis exempla domi scrutando saepius ad civilium bellorum detestandam memoriam progredi cogar, duobus Romanis exemplis contentus, quae ut clarissimarum familiarum commendationem ita nullum

---

[1] Livy 2.12 etc. "Scaevola," generally taken for diminutive of *scaeva*, "left hand," probably meant a sexual charm (Varro *Ling. Lat.* 7.97). The historical Mucii Scaevolae flourished in the last two centuries of the Republic.

[2] Not identified. The first prominent member of the family was Consul in 141. In 168 an embassy of two, M. Perperna and M. Petillius, was sent to Gentius, piratical king of an Illyrian tribe,

was sacrificing at the altar. But in pursuit of his brave and patriotic undertaking he was overpowered; nor did he conceal the reason for his presence, but with marvellous fortitude declared his contempt for torture. Hating his right hand, as I suppose, because he had been unable to use its service in the slaughter of the king, he laid it on a brazier and let it be consumed by fire. Surely the immortal gods never watched worship brought to their altars with more attentive eyes. He made Porsenna himself forget his danger and turn his vengeance to admiration. "Return to your people, Mucius," he said, "and tell them that though you sought my life, I granted you yours." Mucius gave no adulation to his clemency, more sorry for Porsenna's survival than happy for his own. With the eternally glorious surname of Scaevola he restored himself to Rome.[1]

Commendable too was the valour of Pompeius.[2] In the course of duty as an envoy he was captured by king Gentius and told to betray the counsels of the senate. Putting his finger to a burning lamp he let it be consumed and by that fortitude both made the king despair of learning anything from him by means of torture and inspired him with a great desire to seek the friendship of the Roman people.

And lest by probing too often for further examples of this sort at home I be forced to advance into the abominable memory of the civil wars, I shall content myself with my two Roman examples, which bring credit to very illus-

who imprisoned them as spies but later released them (Livy 44.27.11 etc., Broughton I.430). In Valerius' account, which seems to concern a different episode, *interceptus* might suggest that Pompeius was captured (at sea?) on his way to another destination. But the resemblances are suspicious.

publicum maerorem continent, externa subnectam.

ext. 1 Vetusto Macedoniae more regi Alexandro nobilissimi pueri praesto erant sacrificanti. e quibus unus turibulo arrepto ante ipsum adstitit. in cuius bracchium[47] carbo ardens delapsus est. quo etsi ita urebatur ut adusti corporis eius odor ad circumstantium nares perveniret, tamen et dolorem silentio pressit et bracchium immobile tenuit, ne sacrificium Alexandri aut concusso turibulo impediret aut edito gemitu religione[48] aspergeret. rex, quo[49] patientia pueri magis delectatus est, hoc certius perseverantiae experimentum sumere voluit: consulto enim sacrificavit diutius, nec hac re eum proposito reppulit. si huic miraculo Dareus inseruisset oculos, scisset eius stirpis milites vinci non posse cuius infirmam aetatem tanto robore praeditam animadvertisset.

Est et illa vehemens et constans animi militia, litteris pollens, venerabilium doctrinae sacrorum antistes, Philosophia. quae ubi pectore recepta est, omni[50] inhonesto atque inutili adfectu dispulso, totum [in][51] solidae virtutis munimento confirmat, potentiusque metu facit ac dolore.

ext. 2 Incipiam autem ‹a› Zenone[52] Eleate. qui cum esset in dispicienda rerum natura maximae prudentiae inque exci-

[47] brachium P: -io AL
[48] religione *Foertsch*: regio* AL: regias aures A *corr.*
[49] quo *Torr.*: quoque AL [50] omni ς : homini AL
[51] *del. Gertz* [52] a Zenone A *corr.*: Zenonem AL

---

[3] Not found elsewhere.

[4] Cicero, *Tusc.* 2.52 and *Nat. deor.* 3.82, mentions him along with Anaxarchus as having been tortured by an unnamed tyrant.

trious families without entailing any public sorrow, and follow them with external ones.

EXTERNAL

By the ancient custom of Macedonia boys of the highest birth attended king Alexander when he offered sacrifice. One of these stood in front of him with a censer in his hands, and a hot coal dropped onto his arm. It so burned him that the smell of his scorched body reached the nostrils of the bystanders, but he suppressed his pain in silence and held his arm still lest he should either disturb Alexander's sacrifice by shaking the censer or put a religious scruple upon it by uttering a groan. The more pleased the king was by the boy's fortitude, the more he wanted to make a surer trial of his constancy, for he deliberately took longer over the sacrifice; but by so doing he did not drive him from his resolution. If Darius had set eyes upon this marvel, he would have known that there was no vanquishing soldiers of a race whose tender age he had seen to be made of stuff so stout.[3]

There is another strong and resolute soldiering of the spirit, powerful through letters, priestess of the venerable rites of learning: Philosophy. Once received in the heart, she drives away every unseemly and useless emotion, confirms its entirety with the bulwark of solid virtue, makes it more powerful than fear and pain.

I shall begin with Zeno of Elea,[4] a man of great wisdom in the investigation of nature and most energetic in rousing

He lived in the fifth century, well after Phalaris' death. Valerius' account seems hallucinatory, though the taunt to the "Agrigentines" has an echo in Diog. Laert. 9.27.

tandis ad vigorem iuvenum animis promptissimus, praeceptorum fidem exemplo virtutis suae publicavit: patriam enim egressus in qua frui secura libertate poterat, Agrigentum miserabili servitute obrutum petiit, tanta fiducia ingenii ac morum suorum fretus ut speraverit et tyranno et Phalari vesanae mentis feritatem a se deripi posse. postquam deinde apud illum plus consuetudinem dominationis quam consilii salubritatem valere animadvertit, nobilissimos eius civitatis adulescentes cupiditate liberandae patriae inflammavit. cuius rei cum indicium ad tyrannum manasset, convocato in forum populo torquere eum vario cruciatus genere coepit, subinde quaerens quosnam consilii participes haberet. at ille neque eorum ‹quemquam›[53] nominavit et proximum quemque ac fidissimum tyranno suspectum reddidit, increpitansque Agrigentinis ignaviam ac timiditatem effecit ut subito mentis impulsu concitati Phalarim lapidibus prosternerent. senis ergo unius eculeo impositi non supplex vox nec miserabilis eiulatus sed fortis cohortatio totius urbis animum fortunamque mutavit.

ext. 3 Eiusdem nominis philosophus, cum a Nearcho tyranno, de cuius nece consilium inierat, torqueretur supplicii pariter atque indicandorum gratia consciorum, doloris victor sed ultionis cupidus, esse dixit quod secreto audire eum admodum expediret, laxatoque eculeo, postquam insidiis opportunum animadvertit, aurem eius morsu cor-

[53] quemquam G: *om.* AL: quempiam A *corr.*

---

[5] Cic. *Tusc.* 2.52, Diog. Laert. 9.26 etc. Actually the same Zeno, of Elea, as later accounts agree, except for Amm. Marc. 14.9.6, where he is confused with Zeno of Citium, the great Stoic.

the minds of the young to activity. By the example of his virtue he spread faith in his precepts abroad. For leaving his native place, where he could have enjoyed security and freedom, he sought Agrigentum, then sunk in miserable slavery. With such confidence did he rely on his talents and character that he hoped to be able to strip the ferocity of a crazed brain from a tyrant, and that tyrant Phalaris. Then, after he realized that the habit of dominion counted for more with him than wholesome advice, he fired the noblest young men of that community with longing to liberate their country. When information of what was afoot reached the tyrant, he summoned the people to the marketplace and began to harass Zeno with various modes of torture, asking him again and again for the names of his accomplices. But Zeno named none of them, instead he cast suspicion on the closest and most loyal of the tyrant's entourage. He also upbraided the inertia and cowardice of the Agrigentines, with the result that roused by a sudden impulse they overthrew Phalaris by stoning. So one old man on the rack changed the mind and fortune of an entire city not by suppliant speech or piteous cries, but by courageous exhortation.

A philosopher of the same name[5] was under torture by the tyrant Nearchus, whom he had entered into a plot to kill, both for punishment and to make him reveal his accomplices. Conquering the pain but desirous of revenge, he said there was something which it would be much to the tyrant's advantage to hear in private. Released from the rack and seeing that Nearchus was open to a surprise at-

The name of the tyrant varies, as do other details; cf. *RE* Zenon 1.54f.

ripuit, nec ante dimisit quam et ipse vita et ille parte corporis privaretur.

ext. 4 Talis patientiae aemulus Anaxarchus, cum a tyranno Cypriorum Nicocreonte torqueretur, nec ulla vi inhiberi posset quo minus eum amarissimorum maledictorum verberibus invicem ipse torqueret, ad ultimum amputationem linguae minitanti 'non erit' inquit, 'effeminate adulescens, haec quoque pars corporis mei tuae dicionis,' protinusque dentibus abscisam et commanducatam linguam in os eius ira patens exspuit. multorum aures illa lingua et in primis Alexandri regis admiratione sui attonitas habuerat, dum terrae condicionem, habitum maris, siderum motus, totius denique mundi naturam prudentissime et facundissime expromit. paene tamen occidit gloriosius quam viguit, quia tam forti fine illustrem professionis actum comprobavit, Anaxarchique non vitam modo decoravit[54] sed mortem reddidit clariorem.

ext. 5 In Theodoto quoque, viro gravissimo, Hieronymus tyrannus tortorum manus frustra fatigavit: rupit enim verbera, fidiculas laxavit, solvit eculeum, lamminas exstinxit prius quam efficere potuit ut tyrannicidii conscios indicaret. quin etiam satellitem, in quo totius dominationis summa quasi quodam cardine versabatur, falsa criminatione inquinando fidum lateri eius custodem eripuit, beneficioque patientiae non solum quae occulta fuerunt texit sed etiam tormenta sua ultus est. quibus Hieronymus, dum inimicum cupide lacerat, amicum temere perdidit.

[54] decoravit *Foertsch*: deseruit* AL; Br

---

[6] Cic. *Tusc.* 2.52, Diog. Laert. 9.59 etc. Nicocreon died in 311/10 (*RE* XVII.358f.). [7] 215: Livy 24.5.10–14.

tack, he seized the latter's ear between his teeth and did not let go until he himself had been deprived of his life and the other of a part of his body.

His fortitude was emulated by Anaxarchus. Tortured by the tyrant of Cyprus, Nicocreon, no violence could stop him from torturing the tyrant in his turn with lashings of the most wounding insults. At last Nicocreon threatened to cut off his tongue, to which Anaxarchus replied: "Womanish young man, this part of my body at least will not be in your power," and straight away he cut off his tongue with his teeth, chewed it up, and spat it into the other's mouth, which was open in fury. That tongue had held the ears of many lost in admiration, above all king Alexander's, as it wisely and eloquently expounded the state of the earth, the condition of the sea, the movements of the stars, in fine the nature of the entire universe. But it perished almost more gloriously than it flourished, because by so brave an end it validated the illustrious performance of what it professed and not only adorned Anaxarchus' life but rendered his death more renowned.[6]

On Theodotus too, a highly respected personage, the tyrant Hieronymus vainly wearied the hands of torturers. He broke the scourges, relaxed the cords, loosened the rack, and extinguished the hot plates before he could make him reveal his accomplices in tyrannicide. More than that, Theodotus smeared with false accusation a henchman on whom the entire despotism turned as on a hinge and so tore a loyal guardian from the tyrant's side, not only by virtue of fortitude covering what lay concealed but avenging his own torments, torments through which Hieronymus in eagerly mangling his enemy rashly lost his friend.[7]

ext. 6 Apud Indos vero patientiae meditatio tam obstinate usurpari creditur ut sint qui omne vitae tempus nudi exigant, modo Caucasi montis gelido rigore corpora sua durantes, modo flammis sine ullo gemitu obicientes. atque iis haud parva gloria contemptu doloris acquiritur titulusque sapientiae datur.

ext. 7 Haec e pectoribus altis et eruditis orta sunt, illud tamen non minus admirabile servilis animus cepit. servus barbarus Hasdrubalem, quod dominum suum occidisset graviter ferens, subito adgressus interemit, cumque comprehensus[55] omni modo cruciaretur, laetitiam tamen, quam ex vindicta ceperat, in ore constantissime retinuit.

Non ergo fastidioso aditu virtus: excitata vivida[56] ingenia ad se penetrare patitur, neque haustum sui cum aliquo personarum discrimine largum malignumve praebet, sed omnibus aequaliter exposita quid cupiditatis potius quam quid dignitatis attuleris aestimat, inque captu bonorum suorum tibi ipsi pondus examinandum relinquit, ut quantum subire animo sustinueris, tantum tecum auferas. quo evenit ut et humili loco nati ad summam dignitatem consurgant et generosissimarum imaginum fetus in aliquod revoluti dedecus acceptam a maioribus lucem in tenebras convertant. quae quidem planiora suis exemplis redduntur; ac prius de iis ordiar quorum in meliorem statum facta mutatio splendidam relatu praebet materiam.

[55] comprehensus G: -pressus AL
[56] Br

Among the Indians the exercise of fortitude is believed to be practised with such determination that some of them spend their entire lives naked, now hardening their bodies with the icy cold of Mount Caucasus, now exposing them without a groan to flames. No small glory do they acquire by contempt of pain and are granted the title of wisdom.[8]

These examples come from high and learned breasts, but one no less admirable was compassed by the soul of a slave. A barbarian slave, angry with Hasdrubal because he had killed his master, suddenly attacked and slew him. Apprehended, he suffered all manner of torments, but resolutely maintained upon his face the joy his vengeance had given him.[9]

So Virtue's access is not fastidious. She suffers lively dispositions stirred to action to enter her presence and gives them a draught of herself that is not generous or grudging from discrimination of persons. Equally available to all, she assesses the desire you bring, not your station, and in the taking in of her good things she leaves the weight for you yourself to determine, so that you carry away with you just so much as you can bring your mind to sustain. So it happens on the one hand that persons born in humble circumstances rise to the highest dignity and on the other that offshoots of the noblest family trees fall back into some disgrace and turn the light they received from their ancestors to darkness. This will be made plainer by relevant examples. First I shall begin with those whose change of status for the better provides matter that shines in the telling.

[8] Cic. *Tusc.* 5.77 etc.
[9] 221: Livy 21.2.6 etc.

4. DE HUMILI LOCO NATIS QUI CLARI EVASERUNT

1 Incunabula Tulli Hostilii agreste tugurium cepit; eiusdem adulescentia in pecore pascendo fuit occupata; validior aetas imperium Romanum rexit et duplicavit; senectus excellentissimis ‹ornamentis›[57] decorata in altissimo maiestatis fastigio fulsit.

2 Verum Tullus, etsi magnum[58] admirabilis incrementi, domesticum tamen exemplum est: Tarquinium autem ad Romanum imperium occupandum Fortuna in urbem nostram advexit, alienum quod ex Etruria,[59] alieniorem quod ortum Corintho, fastidiendum quod mercatore genitum, erubescendum quod etiam exsule [Demorato][60] natum patre. ceterum tam prosperum condicionis suae eventum industria sua pro invidioso gloriosum reddidit: dilatavit enim fines, cultum deorum novis sacerdotiis auxit, numerum senatus amplificavit, equestrem ordinem uberiorem reliquit, quaeque laudum eius consummatio est, praeclaris virtutibus effecit ne haec civitas paenitentiam ageret quod regem a finitimis potius mutuata esset quam de suis legisset.

3 In Tullio vero Fortuna praecipue vires suas ostendit, vernam huic urbi natum regem dando. cui quidem diutissime imperium obtinere, quater lustrum condere, ter triumphare contigit. ad summam autem unde processerit

[57] *add.* A *corr.;* Br
[58] magnum *Halm*: -nus AL
[59] ex Etruria *SB*¹: exacta* AL
[60] *om.* ς

4. OF THOSE BORN IN A HUMBLE SITUATION WHO BECAME ILLUSTRIOUS

A farmer's hut held the cradle of Tullus Hostilius and his youth was passed in feeding a flock.[1] His robuster years ruled the Roman domain and doubled it. His old age, decorated with the most splendid ornaments, shone at the highest pinnacle of majesty.

But Tullus, great example of extraordinary development as he was, comes from inside, whereas Fortune brought Tarquinius to our city to take over Roman rule: an alien because he came from Etruria, more alien still as a native of Corinth, to be disdained as the son of a trader, to be blushed for as born of a banished father. But his own energy made the prosperous outcome of his condition productive of glory rather than envy. He extended the frontiers, enlarged the worship of the gods with new priesthoods, increased the numbers in the senate, left a fuller equestrian order, and—the consummation of his achievements—he made this community not sorry to have borrowed a king from its neighbours rather than chosen one of its own.

In Tullius, however, Fortune especially displayed her power by giving this city a slave-born king;[2] he had the happiness to reign for a very long time, to perform the rite of purification four times, and to triumph three times. In sum the inscription on his own statue, mingling a servile

[1] Not so Livy 1.22.1, Dion. Hal. 3.1. But Aelian *Var. hist.* 14.36 agrees about Tullus' humble origin.

[2] Livy 1.39 etc.

et[61] quo pervenerit statuae ipsius titulus abunde testatur, servili cognomine et regia appellatione perplexis.

4 Miro gradu Varro quoque ad consulatum ‹e›[62] macellaria patris taberna conscendit. et quidem Fortuna parum duxit sordidissimae mercis capturis alito duodecim fasces largiri, nisi etiam L. Aemilium Paullum dedisset collegam. atque ita se in eius sinum infudit ut cum apud Cannas culpa sua vires populi Romani exhausisset, Paullum, qui proelium committere noluerat, occidere pateretur, illum in urbem incolumem reduceret. quin etiam senatum gratias ei agentem, quod redire voluisset, ante portas eduxit, extuditque ut gravissimae cladis auctori dictatura deferretur.

5 Non parvus consulatus rubor M. Perperna,[63] utpote [quam][64] consul ante quam civis, sed in bello gerendo utilior aliquanto rei publicae Varrone imperator:[65] regem enim Aristonicum cepit Crassianaeque stragis punitor exstitit, cum interim, cuius vita triumphavit, mors Papia lege damnata est: namque patrem illius, nihil ad se pertinentia civis Romani iura complexum Sabelli iudicio petitum re-

[61] et *Foertsch*: aut AL
[62] *add. Halm ex* ς
[63] Perperna *Torr.*: -pennae AL: -penna est *Gertz*
[64] *del. Eberhard*: qui G
[65] imperator *Kellerbauer*: -ore AL

---

[3] Cognomen, as added to the nomen Tullius with which he was born, neither he nor his mother being born into slavery: special terminology in an anomalous case. Cf. SB[1]. [4] In 216: on his origins cf. Livy 22.25.18f., Münzer *RE* VA.681f. [5] Cf. VM 4.5.2. This is probably a fiction, deriving from the fact that Varro appointed a Dictator (Livy 23.22.10f.) at the senate's behest. [Front.] *Strat.* 4.5.6 doubtless comes from Valerius.

surname[3] and a royal title, abundantly attests from whence he came and to what he attained.

It was a remarkable stride too by which Varro ascended from his father's butcher's shop to the Consulate.[4] And Fortune thought it not enough to bestow the twelve fasces on one who had been nourished on the takings of a very vulgar traffic, unless she also gave him L. Aemilius Paullus as a colleague. To such effect did Varro thrust himself into her bosom that after he had drained the strength of the Roman people at Cannae through his own fault she allowed Paullus, who had been against joining battle, to die and brought Varro back to Rome safe and sound. She actually brought out the senate before the gate thanking him for choosing to come back and extorted the offer of a Dictatorship[5] to the author of a terrible disaster.

No small embarrassment to the Consulate is M. Perperna, who was Consul[6] before he was a citizen, but in the conduct of war he was a general considerably more useful to the commonwealth than Varro. For he captured king Aristonicus and became the avenger of the Crassian carnage;[7] but whereas his life triumphed, his death was found guilty under the Papian law. For his father had embraced the rights of a Roman citizen to which he had no title and was forced by the Sabelli as a result of a trial to return to

[6] In 130. He died the following year at Pergamus and so never celebrated a triumph for his victory over Aristonicus. The Papian law against illegal assumption of citizenship, passed in 65, may be confused with one carried by the Tribune L. Junius Pennus in 126.

[7] The word (*strages*) is inappropriate to the death of Crassus Mucianus (cf. VM 3.2.12). Valerius, one suspects, was really thinking of the *Crassiana strages* at Carrhae in 53.

dire in pristinas sedes coegerunt. ita M. Perpernae nomen adumbratum, falsus consulatus, caliginis simile imperium, caducus triumphus aliena in urbe improbe peregrinatus est.

6 M. vero Porcii Catonis incrementa publicis votis expetenda fuerunt, qui nomen suum Tusculi ignobile Romae nobilissimum reddidit: ornata sunt enim ab eo litterarum Latinarum monumenta, adiuta disciplina militaris, aucta maiestas senatus, prorogata familia, in qua maximum decus posterior ortus est Cato.

ext. 1 Sed ut Romanis externa iungamus, Socrates, non solum hominum consensu verum etiam Apollinis oraculo sapientissimus iudicatus, Phaenarete matre obstetrice et Sophronisco patre marmorario genitus ad clarissimum gloriae lumen excessit. neque immerito: nam cum eruditissimorum virorum ingenia in disputatione caeca vagarentur, mensurasque solis ac lunae et ceterorum siderum loquacibus magis quam certis argumentis explicare conarentur, totius etiam mundi habitum complecti auderent, primus ab his [in]doctis[66] erroribus abductum animum suum [in][67] intima condicionis humanae et in secessu pectoris repositos adfectus scrutari coegit, si[68] virtus per se ipsa aestimetur, vitae magister optimus.

[66] doctis *Lipsius*: ind- AL
[67] intima ς: in int- AL: vim intimam *Gertz*
[68] si ... aestimetur *intra cruces Briscoe*

his former place of residence. So M. Perperna's shadowy name, false Consulship, foggy authority, fleeting triumph sojourned shamelessly in an alien city.

M. Porcius Cato's rise deserved to be prayed for by public vows. He rendered his name, ignoble in Tusculum, one of the noblest in Rome. For he adorned the memorials of Latin literature, aided military discipline, enhanced the majesty of the senate, and passed on his family, in which the later Cato was born as its greatest glory.

EXTERNAL

But to add external examples to Roman, Socrates, judged wisest of mankind not only by the consensus of men but by Apollo's oracle, was the son of a midwife, Phaenarete,[8] and of Sophroniscus, a mason, and rose into the brightest light of glory. Nor was it undeserved. The intellects of men of greatest erudition were wandering in blind controversy, as they endeavoured to set forth the dimensions of the sun and moon and other stars by wordy rather than convincing arguments, daring even to embrace the constitution of the whole universe, till Socrates first abstracted his mind from these erudite[9] errors and set it to scrutinize the inner secrets of the human condition and emotions hidden in the breast's recess. If virtue be valued for itself, he was life's best teacher.[10]

[8] Plato *Theaet.* 149a etc.

[9] *Doctis,* a certain correction if there ever was one. *Indoctis* cannot mean "sans valeur scientifique," neither did Parmenides and the other *eruditissimi* err from lack of learning.

[10] Cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 5.10 *Socrates primus philosophiam devocavit e caelo*; *Acad.* 1.15 etc.

ext. 2 Quem patrem Euripides aut quam matrem[69] Demosthenes habuerit ipsorum quoque saeculo ignotum fuit. alterius autem matrem holera, alterius patrem cultellos venditasse omnium paene doctorum litterae loquuntur. sed quid aut illius tragica aut huius oratoria vi clarius?

5. QUI A PARENTIBUS CLARIS DEGENERAVERUNT

praef. Sequitur duplicis promissi pars adopertis illustrium virorum imaginibus reddenda, quoniam quidem sunt referendi qui ab earum splendore degeneraverunt, taeterrimis ignaviae ac nequitiae sordibus imbuta nobilia portenta.

1a Quid enim monstro similius quam superioris Africani filius Scipio, qui in tanta domestica gloria ortus a parvulo admodum regis Antiochi praesidio capi sustinuit, cum ei voluntaria morte absumi satius fuerit quam inter duo fulgentissima cognomina patris et patrui, altero [maiori][70] oppressa Africa iam parto, altero maiore ex parte recuperata Asia surgere incipiente, manus vinciendas hosti tra-

[69] quem patrem ... quam matrem *Bergk*: quam m- ... quem p- AL. [70] *om.* ς

---

[11] Aristoph. *Acharn.* 478 etc. Cf. Theopompus ap. Gell. 15.20.1. [12] Or swords: Aeschin. *C. Ctes.* 171 (where something is said about Demosthenes' mother, though not her name), Plut. *Dem.* 4, Juv. 10.130.

[1] Valerius' denigration of the son, also a P. Scipio, adoptive father of Aemilianus, is much at odds with quite kindly references in Cicero (*Brut.* 77, *Sen.* 35, *Off.* 1.121) and is probably due to confusion with another Scipio, though Velleius too is unfavourable

Whom Euripides had for a father or Demosthenes for a mother was unknown even in their own period. But the writings of almost all the learned speak of the mother of the one as selling vegetables[11] and the father of the other as selling knives.[12] But what is more famous than the power of the first in tragedy and the second in oratory?

5. OF THOSE WHO DEGENERATED FROM FAMOUS PARENTS

The part of my twofold promise that follows must be delivered after the masks of illustrious men have been veiled, since I have to tell of those who degenerated from their splendour, noble monsters steeped in the foulest filth of sloth and rascality.

For what is closer to a portent than Scipio, son of the elder Africanus?[1] Born into so much domestic glory, he let himself be captured by a tiny detachment of king Antiochus' men, although it would have been better for him to be carried off by a voluntary death (coming as he did between the two resplendent surnames[2] of his father and his uncle, one already gained by the crushing of Africa, the other starting its ascent with Asia in greater part recovered) than to surrender his hands to the enemy to be

(1.10.3). For the capture by Antiochus III cf. VM 2.10.2a. Münzer (*RE* Cornelius 325) held that Valerius' target was another son of Africanus, L. Scipio, Praetor in 174. But another son, with a remarkable and scandalous record, would surely have emerged in other sources, especially Cicero. VM 3.5.1b, however, does seem to refer to this L. Scipio; see VM 4.5.3 and Broughton I.406 n. 2.

[2] Africanus and Asiaticus.

dere eiusque beneficio precarium spiritum obtinere de quo mox L. Scipio speciosissimum deorum hominumque oculis subiecturus erat triumphum.

1b Idem praeturae petitor candidam togam adeo turpitudinis maculis obsolefactam in campum detulit ut nisi gratia Cicereii, qui patris eius scriba fuerat, adiutus esset, honorem a populo impetraturus non videretur. quamquam quid interfuit utrum repulsam an sic adeptam praeturam domum referret? quam cum propinqui ab eo pollui animadverterent, id egerunt ne aut sellam ponere aut ius dicere auderet, insuperque e manu eius anulum, in quo caput Africani sculptum erat, detraxerunt. di boni, quas tenebras e quo fulmine nasci passi estis!

2 Age, Q. Fabii Maximi Allobrogici et civis et imperatoris clarissimi, filius Q. Fabius Maximus quam perditam luxuria vitam egit! cuius ut cetera flagitia oblitterentur, tamen abunde illo dedecore mores nudari possunt, quod ei Q. Pompeius praetor urbanus paternis bonis interdixit, neque in tanta civitate qui illud decretum reprehenderet inventus est: dolenter enim homines ferebant pecuniam, quae Fabiae gentis splendori servire debebat, flagitiis disici. ergo quem nimia patris indulgentia heredem reliquerat, publica severitas exheredavit.

3 Possedit favorem plebis Clodius Pulcher, adhaerensque Fulvianae stolae pugio militare decus muliebri impe-

---

[3] *Scriba,* an official position. Cicereius was Praetor in 173.
[4] Cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 1.81.

bound and to draw precarious breath by benefit of one over whom L. Scipio would presently display a splendid triumph before the eyes of gods and men.

The same as a candidate for the Praetorship brought his white gown into the Campus so debased by spots of turpitude that had he not been assisted by the influence of Cicereius, who had been his father's secretary,[3] it looked as though the people would not have given him the honour. And yet what difference did it make whether he brought home a rejection or a Praetorship so obtained? Aware that he defiled the office, his relatives saw to it that he should not dare to set up his chair or give judgment, and furthermore they took from his hand a ring engraved with Africanus' head. Gods above, what darkness you let be born from what a lightning flash!

See now, what a life, ruined by dissipation, did Q. Fabius Maximus lead, the son of Q. Fabius Maximus Allobrogicus, a most distinguished citizen and general.[4] Even though his other infamies be obliterated, his character can be abundantly exposed by the disgrace which the City Praetor Q. Pompeius put upon him,[5] by forbidding him to enter into possession of his father's estate. And in so large a community no one was found to criticize that ruling. For men were indignant that money which ought to have served the splendour of the Fabian clan should be infamously squandered. So public severity disinherited one whom his father's overindulgence had left heir.

Clodius Pulcher possessed the favour of the common folk and the dagger clinging to Fulvia's robe subordinated

[5] Q. Pompeius Rufus was Praetor in 91 (Consul in 88), but this action is not noticed elsewhere.

rio subiectum habuit. quorum filius Pulcher, praeterquam quod enervem et frigidam iuventam egit, perdito etiam amore vulgatissimae meretricis infamis fuit, mortisque erubescendo genere consumptus est: avide enim abdomine devorato foedae ac sordidae intemperantiae spiritum reddidit.

4 Nam Q. quidem Hortensii, qui in maximo et ingeniorum[71] ‹excellentium›[72] et civium[73] amplissimorum proventu summum auctoritatis atque eloquentiae gradum obtinuit, nepos Hortensius Corbio omnibus scortis abiectiorem et obsceniorem vitam exegit, ad ultimumque lingua eius tam libidini cunctorum inter lupanaria prostitit quam avi pro salute civium in foro excubuerat.

6

praef. Animadverto in quam periculosum iter processerim; itaque me ipse revocabo, ne si reliqua eiusdem generis naufragia consectari perseveravero, aliqua inutili relatione implicer. referam igitur pedem, deformesque umbras in imo gurgite turpitudinis suae iacere patiar: satius est enim narrare qui illustres viri in cultu ceteroque vitae ritu aliqua ex parte novando sibi indulserint.

71 ingeniorum *Lipsius*: ingenuo- AL
72 *add. SB*[1]
73 et civium *Lipsius*: c- et AL

---

6 Clodius was married to Fulvia; he had seen some military service and the dagger (*pugio*) was worn by Roman soldiers. But the allusion here is obscure. Was Valerius thinking of Fulvia's notorious influence with a later husband, Mark Antony?

military distinction to feminine authority.[6] Their son Pulcher[7] passed a feeble, inactive youth, was moreover infamous because of his abandoned love for a promiscuous harlot and perished of a shameful kind of death. For after greedily devouring a belly, he gave up his breath to foul and sordid gluttony.

In an abundant crop of brilliant talents and eminent citizens Q. Hortensius occupied the highest grade of authority and eloquence. His grandson Hortensius Corbio[8] passed a life more abject and obscene than any harlot and in the end his tongue was prostituted in brothels to the lust of all comers as his grandfather's had kept vigil in the Forum for the welfare of his countrymen.

6

I see the danger of the path on which I have entered. So I shall recall myself, lest if I continue to seek out other shipwrecks of the same sort I become involved in some unprofitable narrative. So I shall turn back and let ugly ghosts lie at the bottom of their pool of turpitude. It is better to relate which men of mark indulged themselves in some degree of innovation in their costume and other mode of living.

[7] Cf. Cic. *Att.* 14.13A.2 and B.4.

[8] Son (or possibly brother) of the orator's grandson M. Hortalus who was rebuffed in the senate by Tiberius in A.D. 16 (Tac. *Ann.* 2.37; not to be confused, as by Combès, with the orator's son Quintus, who was executed after Philippi).

QUI EX ILLUSTRIBUS VIRIS IN VESTE AUT CETERO CULTU LICENTIUS SIBI QUAM MOS PATRIUS PERMITTEBAT INDULSERUNT

1 P. Scipio, cum in Sicilia exercitum augendo traiciendoque in Africam opportunum quaerendo gradum Carthaginis ruinam animo volveret, inter consilia ac molitiones tantae rei operam gymnasio dedit, pallioque et crepidis usus. nec hac re segniores Punicis exercitibus manus intulit sed nescio an ideo alacriores, quia vegeta et strenua ingenia, quo plus recessus sumunt, hoc vehementiores impetus edunt. crediderim etiam favorem eum sociorum uberiorem se adepturum existimasse, si vi<c>tum[74] eorum et sollemnes exercitationes comprobasset. ad quas tamen veniebat cum multum ac diutius fatigasset umeros et cetera membra <ac>[75] militari agitatione firmitatem suam probare coegisset, consistebatque in his labor eius, in illis remissio laboris.

2 L. vero Scipionis statuam chlamydatam et crepidatam in Capitolio cernimus. quo habitu videlicet, quia aliquando usus erat, effigiem suam formatam poni voluit.

3 L. quoque Sulla, cum imperator esset, chlamydato sibi et crepidato Neapoli ambulare deforme non duxit.

4 C. autem Duilius,[76] qui primus navalem triumphum ex Poenis rettulit, quotienscumque <publice>[77] epulatus[78]

[74] victum ς: vitum L: vitam A *corr.*: ritum G
[75] *add. Kempf*
[76] Duilius *Briscoe*: Duellius AL: Dulius P
[77] *add.* P (*cf. SB*[3])
[78] epulatus *Per.*: -turus AL

---

[1] 205: Livy 29.19.11f., Tac. *Ann.* 2.59.2.
[2] Cic. *Rab. Post.* 27.
[3] Ibid. Sulla may have been in Naples in 89; cf. VM 1.6.4.

OF WHICH MEN OF MARK INDULGED THEMSELVES IN DRESS OR OTHER STYLE MORE FREELY THAN ANCESTRAL CUSTOM PERMITTED

When P. Scipio was in Sicily[1] meditating the ruin of Carthage and looking for an opportune stage from which to increase his army and transport it to Africa, in the course of planning and prosecuting this great enterprise he spent time in the gymnasium, wearing a cloak and sandals. But he did not for that lay the slower hands on the Punic hosts, rather perhaps the more eager, since active and strenuous natures thrust forward the more vigorously the more time they take for vacation. Also I should suppose that he thought he would win popularity among the allies in larger measure if he showed his approval of their habits and regular exercises. But he came to these only after he had wearied his shoulders and limbs much and long and made them prove their robustness in martial exertions. His work lay in these, his remission of work in those.

We see on the Capitol a statue of L. Scipio clothed in mantle and sandals. No doubt he wished his effigy to be sculpted and set up in that attire because he had sometimes used it.[2]

When L. Sulla too was in command of an army he thought it no shame to walk about Naples in mantle and sandals.[3]

C. Duilius was the first to bring back a naval triumph over the Carthaginians.[4] Whenever he banqueted publicly,[5] he used to return home from dinner by the light of a

[4] For his victory at Mylae in 260.

[5] I.e. at official dinners; see SB[3].

erat, ad funalem cereum praeeunte tibicine et fidicine a cena domum reverti solitus est, insignem bellicae rei successum nocturna celebratione testando.

5 Nam Papirius quidem Masso, cum bene gesta re publica triumphum a senatu non impetravisset, in Albano monte triumphandi et ipse initium fecit et ceteris postea exemplum praebuit, proque laurea corona, cum alicui spectaculo interesset, myrtea usus est.

6 Iam C. Marii paene insolens factum: nam post Iugurthinum Cimbricumque et Teutonicum triumphum cantharo semper potavit, quod Liber pater Indicum ex Asia deducens triumphum hoc usus poculi genere ferebatur, ut inter ipsum haustum vini victoriae eius suas victorias compararet.

7 M. autem Cato praetor M. Scauri ceterorumque reorum iudicia nulla indutus tunica sed tantummodo praetexta amictus egit.

7

praef. Sed haec atque his similia virtutis aliquid sibi in consuetudine novanda licentiae sumentis indicia sunt: illis autem, quae deinceps subnectam, quantam sui fiduciam habere soleat cognoscitur.

DE FIDUCIA SUI

1a P. et Cn. Scipionibus in Hispania cum maiore parte exercitus acie Punica oppressis, omnibusque provinciae

---

[6] Cic. *Sen.* 44, Livy *Per.* 17 etc.

[7] 231, in Corsica: see Broughton I.226.

[8] Piso, *Ann.* fr. 31 Peter.

[9] Paulus (Fest.) 131 Lindsay.

wax torch with a performer on the flute and another on the lyre playing in front. Thus he attested his outstanding military success in nocturnal celebration.[6]

When Papirius Masso failed to get a triumph from the senate for a successful campaign,[7] he triumphed on Mount Alba.[8] He was the first to do this and set an example for others to follow. When he attended a show he wore a wreath of myrtle instead of laurel.[9]

Here is an almost presumptuous action of C. Marius. Following his triumphs over Jugurtha, the Cimbri, and the Teutones he always drank out of a cantharus,[10] because Father Liber[11] bringing back his Indian triumph from Asia was said to have used that sort of cup, so that in the act of imbibing wine Marius compared his victories with Liber's.

As Praetor, M. Cato conducted the trials of M. Scaurus and other defendants not wearing a tunic but clothed only in a magistrate's gown.[12]

7

But these and similar proceedings show worth taking to itself some licence in altering custom. From those which I shall now subjoin it is seen how much self-confidence worth is apt to have.

OF SELF-CONFIDENCE

When Publius and Gnaeus Scipio with the greater part of their army were annihilated by the Punic forces in

[10] A large drinking cup with handles; cf. Pliny *N.H.* 13.150, Plut. *Moral.* 461E. [11] The god Dionysus.

[12] Cicero defended Scaurus in 54 at his first trial in a partially extant speech. Cato's dress is not otherwise recorded.

eius nationibus Carthaginiensium amicitiam secutis, nullo ducum nostrorum illuc ad corrigendam rem proficisci audente, P. Scipio quartum et vicesimum agens annum iturum se pollicitus est. qua quidem fiducia populo Romano salutis ac victoriae spem dedit.

1b Eademque in ipsa Hispania usus est: nam cum oppidum Bariam[79] circumsederet, tribunal suum adeuntes in aedem, quae intra moenia hostium erat, vadimonia in posterum diem facere iussit, continuoque urbe potitus et tempore et loco quo praedixerat sella posita ius eis dixit. nihil hac fiducia generosius, nihil praedictione verius, nihil celeritate efficacius, nihil etiam dignitate dignius.

1c Nec minus animosus minusve prosperus illius in Africam transitus, in quam ex Sicilia exercitum senatu vetante transduxit, quia nisi plus in ea re suo quam patrum conscriptorum consilio credidisset, secundi Punici belli finis inventus non esset.

1d Cui facto par illa fiducia, quod, postquam Africam attigit, speculatores Hannibalis in castris deprehensos et ad se perductos nec supplicio adfecit nec de consiliis ac viribus Poenorum percontatus est, sed circa omnes manipulos diligentissime ducendos curavit, interrogatosque an satis ea considerassent quae speculari iussi erant, prandio dato ipsis iumentisque eorum, incolumes dimisit. quo tam pleno

[79] Bariam *Briscoe*: Badiam AL

---

[1] In 211.
[2] Broughton I.280.
[3] Plut. *Moral.* 196B, Gell. 6.1.8–11.

Spain[1] and all the tribes of that province sought friendship with Carthage and none of our generals dared to proceed there to retrieve the situation, P. Scipio, then in his twenty-fourth year, volunteered to go.[2] His confidence gave hope of salvation and victory to the Roman people.

And he showed the same confidence in Spain itself. When he was besieging the town of Baria, he told those who came before his tribunal to bind themselves to appear the following day in a temple situated inside the enemy's walls. Straight away he made himself master of the city and setting up his chair gave them judgment at the time and place predicted.[3] No confidence more noble, no prediction more true, no speed more efficacious, and no worthiness more worthy.

Nor was his crossing to Africa[4] less spirited or less fortunate. He transported his army from Sicily there against the senate's orders,[5] because if he had not trusted his own judgment in the matter rather than that of the Conscript Fathers, no end to the Second Punic War would have been found.

Equal to this action was the confidence exhibited in the following. After he landed on the coast of Africa, spies of Hannibal were caught in his camp and brought before him. He neither punished them nor interrogated them as to the plans and forces of the Carthaginians but had them led meticulously around all his units. He then enquired whether they had sufficiently considered the items which they had been ordered to spy out, gave them and their pack animals a meal, and dismissed them unharmed. By a spirit

[4] 205 (Broughton I.301).
[5] Untrue (Livy 28.5.8).

fiduciae spiritu prius animos hostium quam arma contudit.

1e Verum ut ad domestica eius eximiae fiduciae acta veniamus, cum a L. Scipione ex Antiochensi pecunia sestertii quadragies ratio in curia reposceretur, prolatum ab eo librum, quo acceptae et expensae summae continebantur, refellique inimicorum accusatio poterat, discerpsit,[80] indignatus de ea re dubitari quae sub ipso legato administrata fuerat. quin etiam in hunc modum egit: 'non reddo, patres conscripti, aerario vestro sestertii quadragies rationem, alieni imperii minister, quod meo ductu meisque auspiciis bis milies sestertio uberius feci: neque enim huc puto [eo][81] malignitatis ventum ut de mea innocentia quaerendum sit: nam cum Africam totam potestati vestrae subiecerim, nihil ex ea quod meum diceretur praeter cognomen rettuli. non me igitur Punicae, non fratrem meum Asiaticae gazae avarum reddiderunt, sed uterque nostrum invidia magis quam pecunia locupletior est.'

1f Tam constantem defensionem Scipionis universus senatus comprobavit, sicut illud factum quod cum ad necessarium rei publicae usum pecuniam ex aerario promi opus esset, idque quaestores, quia lex obstare videretur, aperire non auderent, privatus claves poposcit, patefactoque aerario legem utilitati cedere coegit. quam quidem ei fiduciam conscientia illa dedit qua[82] meminerat omnes leges a se esse servatas.

[80] discerpsit ς: -essit AL [81] *om.* ς; Br
[82] qua *Per.*: quia AL

---

[6] Polyb. 15.5.4–7, Livy 30.29.2f. etc.

[7] Livy 38.55.10–12, Gell. 4.18.7–12 etc. The exact dates of this and the following incidents are uncertain.

so full of confidence he beat down the minds of the enemy before their arms.[6]

To come, however, to his domestic acts of exceptional confidence, when L. Scipio was called upon in the senate house for an account of four million sesterces, part of the money from Antiochus, he produced a ledger of sums received and paid from which the hostile accusation could have been disproved. Africanus tore it up in indignation that a matter which had been supervised by himself as Legate should be called in question. Moreover he spoke as follows: "Conscript Fathers, I am not rendering to your treasury as the servant of another man's authority an account of four million sesterces, a treasury which by my leadership and auspices I made richer by two hundred million. For I do not think malignity has reached such a pitch that my innocence needs investigation. For when I subjected all Africa to your power, I brought nothing back to be called mine except a surname. So I was not made greedy by Punic treasures nor my brother by those of Asia, but each of us is richer by envy than by money."[7]

The entire senate approved Scipio's resolute defence, as they did another act of his. When need arose to withdraw money from the treasury for a necessary public purpose and the Quaestors did not dare to open it because the law seemed to stand in the way, Scipio as a private citizen demanded the keys and opened up the treasury, compelling law to yield to utility. The consciousness that in his memory he had kept all the laws gave him that confidence.[8]

[8] Livy 38.55.13, Plut. *Moral.* 196F.

1g Non fatigabor eiusdem facta identidem referendo, quoniam ne ille quidem in consimili genere virtutes edendo fatigatus est. diem illi ad populum M. Naevius tribunus plebis aut, ut quidam memorant, duo Petillii dixerant. quo ingenti frequentia in forum deductus rostra conscendit, capitique suo corona triumphali imposita 'hoc ego' inquit, 'Quirites, die Carthaginem magna spirantem leges nostras accipere iussi: proinde aequum est vos mecum ire in Capitolium supplicatum.' speciosissimam deinde eius vocem aeque clarus eventus <secutus>[83] est, si quidem et senatum totum et universum equestrem ordinem et cunctam plebem Iovis Optimi Maximi pulvinaria petens comitem habuit. restabat ut tribunus apud populum sine populo ageret, desertusque in foro cum magno calumniae suae ludibrio solus moraretur. cuius devitandi ruboris causa in Capitolium processit, deque accusatore Scipionis venerator factus est.

2 Aviti spiritus egregius successor Scipio Aemilianus, cum urbem praevalidam obsideret, suadentibus quibusdam ut circa moenia eius ferreos murices spargeret, omniaque vada plumbatis tabulis consterneret habentibus clavorum cacumina, ne subita eruptione hostes in praesidia nostra impetum facere possent, respondit non esse eiusdem et capere aliquos velle et timere.

3 In quamcumque memorabilium partem exemplorum convertor, velim nolimve, in cognomine Scipionum haeream necesse est: qui enim licet hoc loci Nasicam praete-

[83] *add.* G *corr.*

---

[9] Livy 38.50f. etc.

[10] Plutarch names the historian Polybius.

I shall not weary in relating Scipio's deeds again and again, since he too did not weary of showing his virtues in similar style. Tribune of the Plebs M. Naevius, or as some have it, the two Petillii, had summoned him to trial before the people. Escorted to the Forum by a huge concourse, he mounted the rostra and placing the triumphal wreath upon his head, spoke thus: "On this day, citizens, I ordered Carthage in her pride to accept our terms. Therefore it is fitting that you should go with me to the Capitol to give thanks." This magnificent utterance was followed by a no less famous sequel; for seeking the couch of Jupiter Best and Greatest he was accompanied by the senate, the entire equestrian order, and all the common folk. The upshot was that the Tribune made his plea before the people without any people; deserted, he remained alone in the Forum, his false charge covered with derision. To escape the shame of it, he repaired to the Capitol and from Scipio's accuser became his reverent admirer.[9]

Scipio Aemilianus, a fine successor to his grandfather's spirit, was besieging a strongly fortified city. Certain persons[10] urged him to scatter iron caltrops around its walls and strew all passages with leaded boards studded with nails pointing upward, so that the enemy would not be able to attack our positions in a sudden sortie. Scipio replied that it was not for the same person to want to capture people and to be afraid of them.[11]

To whatever quarter of memorable examples I turn, like it or not, I must stick fast in the surname of the Scipios. For how at this point can I pass over Nasica, the famous au-

[11] 134/133: Plut. *Moral.* 200A.

rire, fidentis animi dicti[que][84] clarissimum auctorem? annonae caritate increbrescente C. Curiatius tribunus plebis productos in contionem consules compellebat ut de frumento emendo atque ‹ad›[85] negotium explicandum mittendis legatis in curia referrent. cuius instituti minime utilis interpellandi gratia Nasica contrariam actionem ordiri coepit. obstrepente deinde plebe 'tacete, quaeso, Quirites,' inquit: 'plus ego enim quam vos quid rei publicae expediat intellego.' qua voce audita omnes pleno venerationis silentio maiorem auctoritatis eius quam suorum alimentorum respectum egerunt.

4 Livii quoque Salinatoris aeternae memoriae tradendus animus. qui cum Hasdrubalem exercitumque Poenorum in Umbria delesset et ei diceretur Gallos ac Ligures ex acie sine ducibus et signis sparsos ac palantes parva manu opprimi posse, respondit in hoc eis oportere parci, nè hostibus tantae cladis domestici nuntii deessent.

5 Bellica haec praesentia animi, togata illa, sed non minus laudabilis, quam P.[86] Furius Philus consul in senatu exhibuit: Q. enim Metellum Quintumque Pompeium consulares viros, vehementes inimicos suos, cupidam sibi profectionem in provinciam Hispaniam, quam sortitus erat, identidem exprobrantes, legatos secum illuc ire coegit: fiduciam non solum fortem sed paene etiam temerariam, quae duobus acerrimis odiis latera sua cingere ausa est, usumque ministerii uix tutum in amicis e sinu inimicorum petere sustinuit!

[84] *del. Gertz* [85] *add. Novák* [86] L. *Briscoe*

---

[12] 138: cf. Livy *Per.* 55. [13] 207: Livy 27.49.8f.

thor of a saying that expressed his confident spirit? The price of corn was on the rise and Tribune of the Plebs C. Curiatius brought the Consuls before a public meeting and urged them to make a motion in the senate about buying grain and sending envoys to arrange the matter. Nasica began to speak in a contrary sense, in order to obstruct this highly inexpedient course of action. Then, when the people shouted in protest, he said: "Be silent, citizens, if you please. I understand better than you what is for the public good." When they heard that, all fell reverently silent, paying more regard to his authority than to their own nutriment.[12]

Livius Salinator's spirit too should be handed down to eternal memory. When he had destroyed Hasdrubal and an army of Carthaginians in Umbria, he was told that Gauls and Ligurians from the battle were wandering scattered without leaders or standards and could be annihilated by a small force. He replied that they had better be spared so that the enemy might not lack native reporters of so great a calamity.[13]

That was ready courage in war, this in peace, but no less praiseworthy, exhibited in the senate by Consul P. Furius Philus.[14] When Q. Metellus and Q. Pompeius, men of consular rank and his bitter enemies, kept taxing him with greedy eagerness to set out for Spain, his allotted province, he obliged them to go with him as his Legates. Confidence not only brave but well-nigh rash, that dared to gird his flanks with two violent animosities and actually sought from the midst of enemies the use of a service not without risk even among friends![15]

[14] 136; his praenomen was Lucius. [15] Dio fr. 82.

6 Cuius factum si cui placet, necesse est L. etiam Crassi, qui apud maiores eloquentia clarissimus fuit, propositum non displiceat: nam cum ex consulatu provinciam Galliam obtineret, atque in eam C. Carbo, cuius patrem damnaverat, ad speculanda acta sua venisset, non solum eum inde non summovit, sed insuper locum ei in tribunali adsignavit nec ulla de re nisi eo in consilium adhibito cognovit. itaque acer et vehemens Carbo nihil aliud Gallica peregrinatione consecutus est quam ut animadverteret sontem patrem suum ab integerrimo viro in exsilium missum.

7 Cato vero superior, saepenumero ab inimicis ad causae dictionem vocatus nec ullo umquam crimine convictus, ad ultimum tantum fiduciae in sua innocentia reposuit ut ab iis in quaestionem publicam deductus Ti. Gracchum, a quo in administratione rei publicae ad multum odium dissidebat, iudicem deposceret. qua quidem animi praesentia[87] pertinaciam eorum insectandi se inhibuit.

8 Eadem M. Scauri fortuna, aeque senectus longa ac robusta, idem animus. qui cum pro rostris accusaretur quod ab rege Mithridate ob rem publicam prodendam pecuniam accepisset, causam suam ita egit: 'est enim[88] iniquum, Quirites, cum inter alios vixerim, apud alios me

[87] praesentia *Vorst*: praestantia AL [88] Br

---

[16] In 95. [17] Probably Cisalpine.

[18] According to Cicero (*Fam.* 9.21.3, *Brut.* 103) C. Papirius Carbo, Consul in 120, committed suicide in 119 as a result of Crassus' prosecution. His son was C. Papirius Carbo Arvina, whose pursuit of Crassus is reported only here; but Cicero (*Verr.* 3.3) says that Crassus came to regret the prosecution because it had brought him enmities. Cf. VM 6.5.6.

Whoever approves his action must not disapprove the plan of L. Crassus, who was most famous for eloquence in our ancestors' time. After his Consulship[16] he governed the province of Gaul.[17] To that province came C. Carbo, whose father he had convicted, to spy upon his doings. Not only did Crassus not remove him from the scene, he went further, assigning him a place on his platform and taking cognizance of nothing without putting Carbo on his advisory board. So the keen and bitter Carbo got nothing from his trip to Gaul except the realization that his father had been guilty and sent into exile by a man of complete integrity.[18]

The elder Cato was often put on his defence by his enemies but never convicted on any charge. In the end he put such confidence in his own innocence that when brought up by them before a public court he asked that Ti. Gracchus, with whom he had disagreed on public affairs to the generating of much ill will, be president of the court; by this ready courage he inhibited their pertinacity in attacking himself.[19]

M. Scaurus had the same fortune, an old age equally long and robust, the same spirit. Accused from the rostra of taking a bribe from king Mithridates to betray the commonwealth,[20] he defended himself in the following manner: "It is unfair, citizens, that I should have lived among

[19] Cato was prosecuted for the forty-fourth and last time in 154, but the date of this trial is unknown; cf. Livy 39.40.8, Pliny *N.H.* 7.100, Plut. *Cat. mai.* 15. [20] He was prosecuted by Q. Servilius Caepio for corruption as envoy to Asia in 92 (?): Ascon. 21 Clark. But what follows conflates to another prosecution in 90 by Q. Varius under Varius' own law: Quint. *Inst.* 5.12.10.

rationem vitae reddere; sed tamen audebo vos, quorum maior pars honoribus et actis meis interesse non potuit, interrogare: Varius Severus Sucronensis Aemilium Scaurum regia mercede corruptum imperium populi Romani prodidisse ait, Aemilius Scaurus huic se adfinem esse culpae negat; utri creditis?' cuius[89] admiratione populus commotus Varium ab illa dementissima actione pertinaci clamore depulit.

9 Contra M. Antonius ille disertus—non enim respuendo sed amplectendo causae dictionem quam innocens esset testatus est—, quaestor proficiscens in Asiam, Brundisium iam pervenerat; ubi litteris certior incesti se postulatum apud L. Cassium praetorem, cuius tribunal propter nimiam severitatem scopulus reorum dicebatur, cum id vitare beneficio legis Memmiae liceret, quae eorum qui rei publicae causa abessent recipi nomina vetabat, in urbem tamen recurrit. quo tam pleno fiduciae bonae consilio cum absolutionem celerem tum profectionem honestiorem consecutus est.

10a Sunt et illa speciosa fiduciae publicae[90] exempla: nam cum eo bello quod adversus Pyrrhum gerebatur Carthaginienses centum ac triginta navium classem in praesidium Romanis Ostiam ultro misissent, senatui placuit legatos ad ducem eorum ire, qui dicerent populum Romanum bella suscipere solere quae suo milite gerere posset: proinde

[89] Br

[90] speciosa ... publicae *Per.*: -sae ... -ca AL

---

21 113: the detail is not recorded elsewhere, but Antonius was accused of sexual relations with a Vestal (cf. VM 6.8.1). Cassius,

one set of people and account for my life before another. Most of you could not be party to my offices and doings, nevertheless I shall venture to put a question to you: Varius Severus of Sucro says that Aemilius Scaurus, corrupted by royal hire, betrayed the empire of the Roman people. Aemilius Scaurus denies any connection with such guilt. Which of the two do you believe?" Stirred by admiration, the people drove Varius from that crazy process by sustained shouting.

Contrariwise the eloquent M. Antonius, for he attested his innocence not by indignantly refusing to plead his case but by welcoming the opportunity. On his way out to Asia as Quaestor he had already got to Brundisium when he was informed by letter that he had been accused of impurity before Praetor L. Cassius, whose tribunal was called "reef of defendants" because of his excessive severity. Although he could have avoided the case by benefit of the Memmian law under which persons absent on public business could not be prosecuted, he nevertheless hastened back to Rome. By that decision, so full of honest confidence, he won a quick acquittal and a more respectable departure.[21]

There are also some handsome examples of public confidence. In the war against Pyrrhus the Carthaginians of their own volition sent a fleet of a hundred and thirty ships to Ostia in support of Rome. The senate decided that envoys should go to their commander and tell him that the Roman people was accustomed to undertake wars that it could fight with its own soldiers; so let them take their fleet

Consul in 127, was not Praetor but special prosecutor. Cf. Broughton I.534, 536f. n.4.

classem Carthaginem reducerent.

10b Idem post aliquot annos, Cannensi clade exhaustis Romani imperii viribus, supplementum in Hispaniam exercitu mittere ausus, fecit ne locus hostilium castrorum, tum maxime Capenam portam armis Hannibale pulsante, minoris veniret quam si illum Poeni non obtinerent. ita se gerere in adversis rebus quid aliud est quam saevientem Fortunam in adiutorium sui pudore victam convertere?

11 Magno spatio divisus est a senatu ad poetam Accium transitus. ceterum ut ab eo decentius ad externa transeamus, producatur in medium. is Iulio Caesari, amplissimo ac florentissimo viro, in collegium poetarum venienti numquam adsurrexit, non maiestatis eius immemor sed quod in comparatione communium studiorum aliquanto se superiorem esse confideret. quapropter insolentiae crimine caruit, quia ibi voluminum non imaginum certamina exercebantur.

ext. 1a Ne Euripides quidem Athenis arrogans visus est, cum postulante populo ut ex tragoedia quandam sententiam tolleret, progressus in scaenam dixit se ut eum doceret, non ut ab eo disceret, fabulas componere solere. laudanda profecto fiducia est quae aestimationem sui certo pondere examinat, tantum sibi arrogans quantum a contemptu et insolentia distare satis est.

---

[22] About 279: Justin 18.2.

[23] 211: Livy 26.11.6f., Flor. 1.22.47.

[24] C. Julius Caesar Strabo, killed in 87. Like Accius he wrote tragedies. [25] Founded in the Second Punic War for writers and actors. [26] I.e. ancestors. This and the following two items not found elsewhere.

back to Carthage.[22]

The same senate some years later dared to send reinforcements to the army in Spain though the strength of the Roman empire had been sapped by the disaster at Cannae. It also saw to it that the site of the enemy camp when Hannibal was battering the Porta Capena with his arms should not sell for less than if the Carthaginians were not in possession of it. What is such conduct in adversity except to turn angry Fortune to one's assistance for very shame?[23]

To pass from the senate to the poet Accius, that is indeed a far cry; but let him be brought forward, so that we may pass from him to external instances with a better grace. He never rose to greet Julius Caesar,[24] a very important and successful personage, when the latter visited the Poets' Club;[25] not that he was unmindful of Caesar's prestige, but because he was confident that in a comparison of their common literary activities he was considerably the superior. For that reason he was not accused of insolence, because in that setting the competition lay between volumes, not masks.[26]

EXTERNAL

Nor yet did Euripides in Athens appear arrogant in that when the people demanded that he delete a particular maxim from a tragedy, he came onto the stage and said that he was in the habit of writing plays to teach them not to learn from them. Surely confidence is to be praised which tries estimation of self on a sure scale and claims for self just so much as leaves a sufficient distance[27] from contempt and insolence.

[27] *Distare satis est* apparently for *satis distat.*

ext. 1b Itaque etiam quod Alcestidi[91] tragico poetae respondit probabile. apud quem cum quereretur quod eo triduo non ultra tres versus maximo impenso labore deducere potuisset, atque is se centum perfacile scripsisse gloriaretur, 'sed hoc' inquit 'interest, quod tui in triduum tantummodo, mei vero in omne tempus sufficient': alterius enim fecundi cursus scripta intra primas memoriae metas corruerunt, alterius cunctante stilo elucubratum opus per omne aevi tempus plenis gloriae velis feretur.

ext. 2 Adiciam scaenae eiusdem exemplum. Antigenidas tibicen discipulo suo, magni profectus sed parum feliciter populo se approbanti, cunctis audientibus dixit 'mihi cane et Musis,' quia videlicet perfecta ars Fortunae lenocinio defecta iusta fiducia non exuitur, quamque se scit laudem mereri, eam si ab aliis non impetrat, domestico tamen acceptam iudicio refert.

ext. 3 Zeuxis autem, cum Helenam pinxisset, quid de eo opere homines sensuri essent exspectandum non putavit, sed protinus ‹ip›se[92] hos versus adiecit:

οὐ νέμεσις Τρῶας καὶ ἐυκνήμιδας Ἀχαιοὺς
τοιῇδ' ἀμφὶ γυναικὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἄλγεα πάσχειν.

adeone dextrae suae multum pictor arrogavit ut ea tantum forma‹e›[93] comprehensum crederet quantum aut Leda caelesti partu edere aut Homerus divino ingenio exprimere potuit?

[91] Acestori *Bergk* [92] ipse *Watt*[3]: se ad LG: *del.* (P) A *corr.*; Br [93] *add. Aldus*

---

[28] Perhaps a mistake for Acestor, a contemporary playwright (see critical note). [29] Cic. *Brut.* 187 etc.

So the answer he gave to the tragic poet Alcestis[28] is also to be approved. He complained to this man that in the past three days he had been able to compose no more than three verses with infinite expense of labour. The other boasted that *he* had written a hundred quite easily. "But there is a difference," said Euripides. "Your lines will be good for three days only, mine for all time." For the writings of the one in their fecund career collapsed before memory's first mark, the other's work lucubrated with hesitant pen shall be wafted with sails full of glory through the ages.

I will add an example from the same stage. Antigenidas the flute player said in everybody's hearing to a pupil who had made great progress but lacked success in popular approval, "Play to me and the Muses."[29] He clearly meant that consummate art failing the blandishments of Fortune is not stripped of well-founded confidence and by its own private judgment credits itself with the praise it knows it deserves, even if that is denied it from others.

When Zeuxis had painted Helen,[30] he did not think he should wait to see what the public would think of that work, but then and there added these verses himself:

> No blame that Trojans and well-greaved Achaeans
> Should suffer pains so long for such a woman.[31]

Did the painter claim so much for his hand as to believe that it had captured all the beauty that Leda could bring forth by divine delivery or Homer express by godlike genius?

[30] Cf. Pliny *N.H.* 35.66.
[31] Hom. *Il.* 3.156f.

ext. 4 Phidias quoque Homeri versibus egregio dicto allusit: simulacro enim Iovis Olympii perfecto, quo nullum praestantius aut admirabilius humanae fabrica<ver>e[94] manus, interrogatus ab amico quonam mentem suam dirigens vultum Iovis propemodum ex ipso caelo petitum eboris liniamentis esset amplexus, illis se versibus quasi magistro usum respondit:

ἦ καὶ κυανέῃσιν ἐπ' ὀφρύσι νεῦσε Κρονίων·
ἀμβρόσιαι δ' ἄρα χαῖται ἐπερρώσαντο ἄνακτος
κρατὸς ἀπ' ἀθανάτοιο, μέγαν δ' ἐλέλιξεν Ὄλυμπον.[95]

ext. 5 Non patiuntur me tenerioribus exemplis diutius insistere fortissimi duces; si quidem Epaminondas, cum ei cives irati sternendarum in oppido viarum contumeliae causa curam mandarent—erat enim illud ministerium apud eos sordidissimum—, sine ulla cunctatione id recepit, daturumque se operam ut brevi speciosissimum fieret adseveravit. mirifica deinde procuratione abiectissimum negotium pro amplissimo ornamento expetendum Thebis reddidit.

ext. 6 Hannibal vero, cum apud regem Prusiam exsularet auctorque ei committendi proelii esset, atque is non idem sibi extis portendi diceret, 'ain tu?' inquit; 'vitulinae carunculae quam imperatori veteri mavis credere?' si verba numeres, breviter et abscise, si sensum aestimes, copiose et valenter: Hispanias enim dereptas[96] populo Romano, et

[94] fabricavere ς: fabricae* AL [95] *sic Aldus*: *de* AL *vide Briscoe* [96] dereptas *Kempf*: dir- AL

---

[32] Strabo 354, Macrob. 5.13.23.
[33] Hom. *Il.* 1.528–30.

Phidias[32] too played with Homer's verses in an excellent saying. When he had finished his image of Olympian Zeus, than which nothing more outstanding and admirable has been fabricated by human hands, a friend asked him to what he had directed his mind so as to embrace in lineaments of ivory the countenance of Jove taken one might almost say from heaven itself. He replied that he had used these verses as his instructor:

> Thus, and with dark brows nodded Cronos' son.
> From his immortal head the royal locks
> Streamed down ambrosial; great Olympus shook.[33]

Brave commanders do not suffer me to linger longer over examples less robust. Epaminondas' compatriots in a fit of spleen put him in charge of paving roads in their town to insult him, that being the meanest of employments in their community. He accepted the commission without hesitation and promised that he would do his best to see that before long it became very honorable. And so marvellously did he look after it that he made the most despised of charges in Thebes one to be sought after, a signal mark of distinction.[34]

When Hannibal was in exile at the court of king Prusias and advised him to join battle, the king said to him that the entrails told him otherwise. "Really?" said Hannibal, "Would you rather trust a lump of calf flesh than a veteran general?"[35] If you count the words, he spoke briefly and concisely, but if you consider the sense, copiously and strongly. He flung at the fellow's feet the Spains snatched

[34] Plut. *Moral.* 811B.
[35] Cic. *Div.* 2.52, Plut. *Moral.* 606C.

Galliarum ac Liguriae vires in suam redactas potestatem, et novo transitu Alpium iuga patefacta, et Trasumen‹n›um lacum dira inustum memoria, et Cannas, Punicae victoriae clarissimum monumentum, et Capuam possessam et Italiam laceratam ante pedes hominis effudit, uniusque hostiae iocineri longo experimento testatam gloriam suam postponi aequo animo non tulit. et sane, quod ad exploranda bellica artificia[97] aestimandosque militares ductus attinebat, omnes foculos, omnes aras Bithyniae Marte ipso iudice pectus Hannibalis praegravasset.

ext. 7 Capax generosi spiritus illud quoque dictum regis Cotyis: ut enim ab Atheniensibus civitatem sibi datam cognovit, 'et ego' inquit 'illis meae gentis ius dabo.' aequavit Athenis Thraciam, ne vicissitudini[98] beneficii imparem iudicando humilius de origine sua sentire existimaretur.

ext. 8 Nobiliter etiam uterque Spartanus, et qui increpitus a quodam, quod in aciem claudus descenderet, pugnare sibi, non[99] fugere propositum esse respondit, et qui, referente quodam sagittis Persarum solem obscurari solere, 'bene narras' inquit: 'in umbra enim proeliabimur.' eiusdem vir urbis atque animi hospiti suo patriae muros excelsos latosque ostendenti dixit 'si mulieribus istos comparastis, recte, si viris, turpiter.'

97 artificia *Gelbcke*: sacrif- AL
98 -dini *Per.*: -dine AL
99 sibi non A *corr.*: non s- LG

away from Rome, the might of the Gauls and Ligurians brought under his control, the Alpine ridges laid open by an unprecedented crossing, Lake Trasimene burned on dire memory, Cannae the most famous memorial of Punic victory, Capua occupied, Italy lacerated. He did not brook calmly that his glory attested in long trial should yield to the liver of a single victim. And in truth, if it came to exploring war's stratagems and estimating military leadership, Hannibal's brain would have outweighed all the braziers and all the altars of Bithynia, let Mars himself be judge.

This saying too of king Cotys housed a noble spirit. Learning that the Athenians had given him their citizenship, "I too," he said, "will give them the franchise of my nation." He levelled Thrace with Athens, unwilling that by judging the former unequal to the reciprocation of such a boon he might be supposed to think meanly of his origin.[36]

Excellently too spoke two Spartans. One, being reproved by somebody because he was going into battle lame, replied that his intention was to fight, not to run away.[37] The other, when he was told that the Persian arrows eclipsed the sun, said "Good, we shall fight in the shade then."[38] Of the same city and the same spirit was he who said to his host who was showing him the wide and lofty walls of his own town: "Fine, if you built them for women; shameful, if for men."[39]

36 About 387: cf. Demosth. *C. Aristocr.* 118.
37 Plut. *Moral.* 234E.
38 Herod. 7.226 etc.
39 Plut. *Moral.* 190A etc.

8. DE CONSTANTIA

praef. Ap<er>tum[100] et animosum bonae fiduciae pectus emenso quasi debitum opus superest constantiae repraesentatio: Natura[101] enim sic comparatum est ut quisquis se aliquid ordine ac recte mente complexum confidit, vel iam gestum, si obtrectetur, acriter tueatur, vel nondum editum, si interpelletur, sine ulla cunctatione ad effectum perducat.

1 Sed dum exempla propositae rei persequor, latius mihi circumspicienti[102] ante omnia se Fulvii Flacci constantia offert. Capuam, fallacibus Hannibalis promissis Italiae regnum nefaria defectione pacisci persuasam, armis occupaverat. tam deinde culpae hostium iustus aestimator quam speciosus victor Campanum senatum impii decreti auctorem funditus delere constituit. itaque catenis onustum in duas custodias, Teanam Calenamque, divisit, consilium exsecuturus cum ea peregisset quorum administrandorum citerior[103] esse necessitas videbatur. rumore autem de senatus mitiore sententia orto, ne debitam poenam scelerati effugerent, nocte admisso equo Teanum contendit, interfectisque qui ibi adservabantur e vestigio Cales transgressus est,[104] perseverantiae suae opus exsecut<ur>us,[105] et iam deligatis ad palum hostibus litteras a patribus conscriptis nequiquam salutares Campanis accepit: in sinistra enim eas manu, sicut erant traditae, reposuit ac iusso lictore lege agere tum demum aperuit, postquam illis obtem-

[100] *add.* ς [101] repraesentatio. Natura *Lipsius*: reprehensione cura AL [102] circumsp- ς: circum insp- AL
[103] citerior *Gertz*: celerior AL
[104] est *add.* (*post* Cales) *Torr.* [105] *add.* L *corr.*

8. OF RESOLUTION

Now that I have been through the open and high-spirited soul of good confidence, another task is, as it were, due: to portray resolution. For Nature has so arranged it that whoever is confident that he has rightly and properly set his mind on something will defend it vigorously against criticism if it is already accomplished and if not yet realized will bring it into effect without hesitation in the face of any obstruction.

But as I look for examples of what I have in mind and cast widely around, the resolution of Fulvius Flaccus offers itself before all others. He had taken Capua by force of arms, which city had been persuaded by Hannibal's deceptive promises to bargain for rule over Italy in return for her wicked defection. As just in assessing enemies' guilt as he was brilliant in victory, he determined to wipe out utterly the Campanian senate, author of that impious decree. So he loaded them with chains and divided them between two prisons, one in Teanum, the other in Cales, intending to carry out his resolve as soon as he had disposed of matters which seemed to need prior handling. But a rumour arose about a more lenient decision by the senate. On this, lest the criminals escape due punishment, Fulvius took horse at night and galloped to Teanum. When those in custody there had been killed, he immediately passed on to Cales to accomplish the task on which his mind was set. The enemies had already been bound to the stake when he received a despatch from the Conscript Fathers sparing the Campanians—but in vain. For Fulvius put it by in his left hand as it had been delivered and ordered the lictor to do his duty, opening it only after it could no longer be com-

perari non poterat. qua constantia victoriae quoque gloriam antecellit, quia, si eum intra se ipsam[106] partita laude aestimes, maiorem punita Capua quam capta reperias.

2 Atque ista quidem severitatis, illa vero pietatis constantia admirabilis, quam Q. Fabius Maximus infatigabilem patriae praestitit. pecuniam pro captivis Hannibali numeraverat: fraudatus ea publice tacuit; dictatori ei magistrum[107] equitum Minucium iure imperii senatus aequaverat: silentium egit; compluribus praeterea iniuriis lacessitus in eodem animi habitu mansit, nec umquam sibi rei publicae permisit irasci. tam perseverans in amore civium, quid? in bello gerendo nonne par eius constantia? imperium Romanum Cannensi proelio paene destructum vix sufficere ad exercitus comparandos videbatur. itaque frustrari et eludere Poenorum impetus quam manum cum iis tota acie conserere melius ratus, plurimis comminationibus Hannibalis irritatus, saepe etiam specie bene gerendae rei oblata, numquam a consilii salubritate ne parvi quidem certaminis discrimine recessit, quodque est difficillimum, ubique ira ac spe superior apparuit. ergo ut Scipio pugnando ita hic non dimicando maxime civitati nostrae succurrisse visus est: alter enim celeritate sua Carthaginem oppressit, alter cunctatione id egit ne Roma opprimi posset.

[106] ipsam *Kempf*: ipsum AL
[107] ei magistrum ς: et -ro AL

---

[1] 212: Livy 26.15. Cf. VM 3.2.ext.1.
[2] Cf. VM 4.8.1.
[3] Not the senate but the people; hence Lipsius' conjecture *aequaverant,* omitting *senatus.*

plied with.[1] By that resolution he even surpassed the glory of his victory. For if you estimate him, dividing the credit within itself, you will find him greater by the punishment of Capua than by her capture.

Admirable was that resolution in severity, this in patriotism, which Q. Fabius Maximus rendered indefatigably to his country. He had paid money to Hannibal on behalf of prisoners and was publicly cheated of that money: he was silent.[2] The senate had made Master of Horse Minucius equal in magisterial power to him, the Dictator:[3] he held his peace. Provoked by a number of other slights, he remained in the same frame of mind and never permitted himself to be angry with the commonwealth. Such was his resolution in loving his countrymen; was it not equal in the conduct of war? He saw that Roman empire, almost destroyed in the battle of Cannae, was hardly capable of raising armies. Therefore he thought it better to foil and elude the attacks of the Carthaginians rather than engage them with his full force. Often he was irritated by Hannibal's threats, not seldom presented with the appearance of an opportunity to gain a success, but he never drew back from his salutary policy, not even risking a small skirmish, showing himself everywhere superior to anger and hope, a difficult achievement indeed. So as Scipio by fighting, so Fabius by avoiding battle was thought to have come mightily to the aid of our community. The one overwhelmed Carthage[4] by his speed, the other by his delay saw to it that Rome could not be overwhelmed.

[4] Not the great Carthage, as usually supposed, but New Carthage, taken by a coup de main in 209: cf. VM 4.3.1 *in Hispania Carthagine oppressa.* But Valerius may also have been confused.

3 C. etiam Pisonem mirifice et constanter turbulento rei publicae statu egisse consulem narratione insequenti patebit. M. Palicani, seditiosissimi hominis, pestiferis blanditiis praereptus populi favor consularibus comitiis summum dedecus admittere conabatur, amplissimum ei deferre imperium cupiens cuius taeterrimis actis exquisitum potius supplicium quam ullus honos debebatur. nec deerat consternatae multitudini furialis fax tribunicia, quae temeritatem eius et ruentem comitaretur et languentem actionibus suis inflammaret. in hoc miserando pariter atque erubescendo statu civitatis tantum non manibus tribunorum pro rostris Piso collocatus, cum hinc atque illinc ambissent ac[108] Palicanum <num>[109] suffragiis populi consulem creatum renuntiaturus esset interrogaretur, primo respondit non existimare se tantis tenebris offusam esse rem publicam ut huc indignitatis veniretur. deinde, cum perseveranter instarent ac dicerent 'age, si ventum fuerit?' 'non renuntiabo' inquit. quo quidem tam absciso responso consulatum Palicano prius quam illum adipisceretur eripuit. multa et terribilia Piso contempsit, dum speciosum mentis suae flecti non vult rigorem.

4 Metellus autem Numidicus propter consimile perseverantiae genus excepit [quoque] indignam maiestate ac moribus suis procellam: cum enim animadverteret quo tenderent Saturnini tribuni plebis funesti conatus, quantoque malo rei publicae, nisi iis occurreretur, erupturi essent, in exsilium quam in legem eius ire maluit. potest aliquis hoc

[108] ac* AL: an A *corr.* [109] *add. Kempf*

---

[5] 67: probably from Livy. [6] 100: an agrarian law to which senators were required to swear.

From the following account it will be clear that C. Piso too in a turbulent state of the commonwealth marvellously and resolutely played the Consul.[5] An agitator, M. Palicanus, had captured the favour of the public by his noxious blandishments. At the consular elections they were trying to perpetrate an utter disgrace, wanting to give the highest magistracy to one whose vile actions deserved no ordinary punishment rather than any honour. Nor did the frantic populace lack the Fury's torch of the Tribunate to accompany its hurtling temerity and when it flagged to inflame it with tribunician harangues. In this no less pitiable than shameful state of the community Piso was placed on the rostra almost by the Tribunes' hands. From this side and from that they canvassed him, asking whether he would return Palicanus as elected Consul by the people's suffrages. At first he replied that he did not believe the commonwealth was plunged into such darkness that things would come to so outrageous a pass. Then, when they pressed and insisted, saying, "Come now, what if they do?" he said, "I shall not return him." By so abrupt a response he snatched the Consulship away from Palicanus before he attained it. Many formidable risks did Piso despise, refusing to let bend the splendid rigour of his soul.

Metellus Numidicus for a similar display of pertinacity ran into a storm that ill befitted his prestige and character. Perceiving where the sinister efforts of Tribune of the Plebs Saturninus were tending and at what cost to the commonwealth they would erupt if not resisted, he chose to go into exile rather than along with Saturninus' law.[6] Can any man be called more resolute than he? Rather than be

viro dici constantior, qui, ne sententia sua pelleretur, patria, in qua summum dignitatis gradum obtinebat, carere sustinuit?

5 Ceterum ut neminem ei praetulerim ita Q. Scaevolam augurem merito comparaverim. dispulsis prostratisque inimicorum partibus, Sulla occupata urbe senatum armatus coegerat ac summa cupiditate ferebatur[110] ut C. Marius quam celerrime hostis iudicaretur. cuius voluntati nullo obviam ire audente solus Scaevola de hac re interrogatus sententiam dicere noluit. quin etiam truculentius sibi instanti Sullae 'licet' inquit 'mihi agmina militum, quibus curiam circumsedisti, ostentes, licet mortem identidem miniteris, numquam tamen efficies ut propter exiguum senilemque sanguinem meum Marium, a quo urbs et Italia conservata est, hostem iudicem.'

6 Quid feminae cum contione? si patrius mos servetur, nihil: sed ubi domestica quies seditionum agitata fluctibus est, priscae consuetudinis auctoritas convellitur, plusque valet quod violentia cogit quam quod suadet et praecipit verecundia. itaque te, Sempronia, Ti. et C. Gracchorum soror, uxor Scipionis Aemiliani, non ut absurde gravissimis virorum operibus inserens maligna relatione comprehendam, sed quia ab tribuno plebei producta ad populum in maxima confusione nihil a tuorum amplitudine degenerasti, honorata memoria prosequar. coacta es eo loci consistere ubi principum civitatis perturbari frons solebat, instabat tibi torvo vultu minas profundens amplissima potestas,

[110] ferebat *Gertz*

---

[7] Cf. Broughton I.575f.

[8] In 88. Recorded only here.

forced to change his stand, he was willing to lose his country, in which he held the highest grade of dignity.[7]

I would place none ahead of him, but I would put Q. Scaevola the Augur in deserved comparison. Having scattered and struck down the party of his enemies, Sulla occupied Rome and in arms called together the senate, passionately desirous that C. Marius be declared a public enemy with all speed. None dared oppose his will except only Scaevola, who when the question was put to him refused to give an opinion. More, when Sulla truculently insisted, this is what he said: "You may show me your troops of soldiers with which you have surrounded the senate house, you may threaten and threaten me with death, but you will never get me for the sake of my small stock of aged blood to judge Marius, who saved Rome and Italy, a public enemy."[8]

What business has a woman with a public meeting? If ancestral custom be observed, none. But when domestic quiet is stirred by the waves of sedition, the authority of ancient usage is subverted and compulsion of violence has greater force than persuasion and precept of restraint. So, Sempronia, sister of Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus, wife of Scipio Aemilianus, it will not be my aim to comprise you in a malicious narrative, thrusting you incongruously into the serious performances of men; but since you were brought before the people by a Tribune of the Plebs at a time of great confusion and did nothing unworthy of the greatness of your family, I shall attend you with an honourable memorial. You were forced to stand in a place where leaders of the community were apt to present a troubled front, a mighty power bore down on you, grim of visage, pour-

clamor imperitae multitudinis obstrepebat,[111] totum forum acerrimo studio nitebatur ut Equitio, cui Semproniae gentis falsum ius quaerebatur, tamquam filio Tiberii fratris tui osculum dares. tu tamen illum, nescio quibus tenebris protractum portentum, exsecrabili audacia ad usurpandam alienam propinquitatem tendentem reppulisti.

7 Non indignabuntur lumina nostrae urbis si inter eorum eximium fulgorem centurionum quoque virtus spectandam se obtulerit: nam ut humilitas amplitudinem venerari debet ita nobilitati[112] fovenda magis quam spernenda bonae indolis novitas est. an abigi debet Titius[113] ab horum exemplorum contextu? qui pro Caesaris partibus excubans Scipionis praesidio interceptus, cum uno modo salus ab eo daretur, si se futurum Cn. Pompeii generi[114] ipsius militem adfirmasset, ita respondere non dubitavit: 'tibi quidem, Scipio, gratias ago, sed mihi uti ista condicione vitae non est opus.' sine ullis imaginibus nobilem animum!

8 Idem constantiae propositum secutus Me<v>ius,[115] centurio divi Augusti, cum Antoniano bello saepenumero excellentes pugnas edidisset, improvisis hostium insidiis circumventus et ad Antonium Alexandriam perductus, interrogatusque quidnam de eo statui deberet, 'iugulari me'

[111] clamor ... obstrepebat G: -ore ... -peret AL
[112] nobilitati *Pighius*: -tate AL: a -tate A *corr.*
[113] Titius LG: tot- A [114] soceri *SB*1 (*cf. SB*2)
[115] Mevius ς: Meius* AL

---

[9] 100: Auct. vir. ill. 73.4; cf. VM 9.7.2, 15.1.

[10] As explained by Badian, the story refers to Scipio's independent command in Thessaly in 48. But *Bell. Afr.* 44–46 has it (or a duplicate) of an unnamed Centurion of the fourteenth legion

ing out threats, the ignorant crowd clamoured at you, the whole Forum strove forcefully to make you kiss Equitius, for whom they falsely sought a membership of the Sempronian clan, as the son of your brother Tiberius. But you repulsed him, that monster dredged from I know not what dark corner, who was advancing with execrable audacity to claim a kinship not his.[9]

The luminaries of our city will not take it amiss if the valour of Centurions presents itself to view amid their dazzling effulgence. For as lowliness ought to reverence greatness, so native merit in a newcomer is to be fostered rather than scorned by nobility. Or should Titius be driven out of the context of these examples? As he kept watch for the Caesarians, he was taken prisoner by a detachment of Scipio's.[10] His life was offered him by Scipio if and only if he promised to serve under Cn. Pompeius, his own son-in-law. He did not hesitate to reply: "I thank you, Scipio; but I have no need of life on those terms." A noble spirit, with no masks![11]

Mevius (?),[12] a Centurion of the divine Augustus, followed the same pattern of resolution. He had often fought with distinction in the Antonian[13] War, but was surprised and surrounded by an enemy ambush and taken to Antony in Alexandria. Asked what should be done with him, "Have

captured in the African campaign of 47–46, when Pompey was dead. Hence my conjecture *soceri* for *generi*. If the latter is right, it seems to be another of Valerius' gaffes. Add an apparent confusion with two Titii of *Bell. Afr.* 28, Caesarian Military Tribunes who fell into Scipio's hands and were executed.

[11] I.e. no distinguished ancestors.

[12] Otherwise unknown. [13] The Actium campaign in 31.

inquit 'iube, quia non salutis beneficio neque mortis supplicio adduci possum ut aut Caesaris miles desinam aut tuus esse incipiam.' ceterum quo constantius vitam contempsit, eo facilius impetravit: Antonius enim virtuti eius incolumitatem tribuit.

ext. 1 Complura huiusce notae Romana exempla superant, sed satietas modo[116] vitanda est. itaque stilo meo ad externa iam delabi permittam. quorum principatum teneat Blassius, cuius constantia nihil pertinacius: Salapiam enim patriam suam praesidio Punico occupatam Romanis cupiens restituere, Dasium acerrimo studio secum in administratione rei publicae dissidentem et alioquin toto animo Hannibalis amicitiae vacantem, sine quo propositum consilium peragi non poterat, ad idem opus adgrediendum maiore cupiditate quam spe certiore temptare ausus est. qui protinus sermonem eius, adiectis quae et ipsum commendatiorem et inimicum invisiorem factura videbantur, Hannibali rettulit. a quo adesse iussi sunt, ut alter crimen probaret, alter defenderet. ceterum, ‹cum›[117] pro tribunali res gereretur et quaestioni illi omnium oculi essent intenti, dum aliud forte citerioris curae negotium tractatur, Blassius vultu dissimulante ac voce submissa monere Dasium coepit ut Romanorum potius quam Carthaginiensium partes foveret. enimvero tunc ille proclamat se in conspectu ducis adversus eum sollicitari. quod quia et incredibile existimabatur et ad unius tantum aures penetraverat et iactabatur ab inimico, veritas[118] fide caruit. sed non ita multo post Blassii mira constantia Dasium ad se

[116] mihi *Watt*[2] [117] *add.* A *corr.*
[118] veritatis *Wensky*

me killed," he said, "for neither benefit of life nor infliction of death can make me cease to be Caesar's soldier or begin to be yours." But the more resolutely he despised life, the more easily he obtained it, for Antony in tribute to his courage left him unharmed.

EXTERNAL

Many Roman examples of this sort remain, but I must avoid satiety by restraint. So I shall now allow my pen to slip into external ones. Let Blassius, whose resolution went to the limit of pertinacity, take first place. His native town of Salapia was occupied by a Punic garrison. Wishing to restore it to the Romans, he ventured with more eagerness than sure hope to try to persuade Dasius to join the attempt, for without him his plan could not be carried out. Now Dasius was violently opposed to him in politics and besides wholeheartedly devoted to Hannibal's friendship. He immediately reported Blassius' words to Hannibal, adding whatever seemed likely to ingratiate himself and make his enemy more odious. Hannibal ordered them to appear before him, the one to prove his accusation, the other to rebut it. The case was heard before his tribunal and all eyes were intent upon that process. But while as it chanced another matter of greater urgency was in hand, Blassius with feigned countenance and lowered voice began advising Dasius to support the Roman side rather than the Carthaginian. Then of course Dasius cried out that he was being incited against the general before his eyes. Since this was thought incredible and it had come to one pair of ears only and was alleged by an enemy, the truth was not believed. But not very long afterwards Blassius' amazing

traxit, Marcelloque et Salapiam et quingentos Numidas, qui in ea custodiae causa erant, tradidit.

ext. 2 Phocion vero, cum Athenienses rem aliter atque ipse suaserat prospere administrassent, adeo perseverans sententiae suae propugnator exstitit ut in contione laetari quidem se successu eorum, sed consilium tamen suum aliquanto melius fuisse diceret: non enim damnavit quod recte viderat quia quod alius male consuluerat bene cesserat, felicius illud existimans, hoc sapientius. et[119] sane blandus[120] animum temeritati casus facit ubi pravo consilio propitius aspirat, quoque vehementius noceat, <in>speratus[121] prodest. placidi et misericordes et liberales omnique suavitate temperati mores Phocionis, quos optime profecto consensus omnium bonitatis cognomine decorandos censuit. itaque constantia, quae natura rigidior videtur, lenis e mansueto pectore fluxit.

ext. 3 Socratis autem virilitatis robore vallatus animus aliquanto praefractius perseverantiae exemplum edidit. universa civitas Atheniensium, iniquissimo ac truculentissimo furore instincta, de capite decem praetorum, qui apud Arginusas Lacedaemoniam classem deleverant, tristem sententiam tulerat. forte tunc eius potestatis Socrates cuius arbitrio plebei scita ordinarentur, indignum iudicans tot et tam bene meritos [et][122] indicta[123] causa impetu invidiae abripi, temeritati multitudinis constantiam suam

[119] et *Kempf*: etiam AL [120] blandus *SB*³: -dum AL
[121] insperatus *Watt*²: speratius AL: inspe- ς
[122] *del.* A *corr.* [123] indicta *Leo*: indigna AL

---

[14] 210: Livy 26.38 (Blattius), App. *Hann.* 45 (Blatius).
[15] Nep. *Phoc.* 1.1 etc.

resolution drew Dasius to its side and put Salapia and the five hundred Numidians who were there to guard it into Marcellus' hands.[14]

When the Athenians had successfully handled an affair contrary to Phocion's advice, he so persistently championed his opinion as to say in the assembly that he was glad that things had gone so happily for them, but all the same his had been considerably the better policy. He did not condemn his own correct perception because another man's bad advice had turned out well, reckoning that the latter had better luck but the former better sense. And true it is that flattering chance encourages temerity when it favours bad counsel, and brings unlooked-for advantage that it harm the more effectively. Phocion's ways were peaceable, compassionate, liberal, tempered by unfailing charm; the general consensus held them to deserve the flattering surname of "the good,"[15] and most rightly to be sure. So resolution, which seems to be by nature rather stiff, flowed gently from his mild breast.

Whereas the soul of Socrates, fenced with the strength of manly vigour, gave a harsher example of pertinacity. The entire Athenian community, prompted by unjust and ferocious error, had pronounced dire sentence touching the lives of the ten commanders who had destroyed the Lacedaemonian fleet at Arginusae.[16] As it chanced, Socrates belonged at the time to the authority in which it lay to draw up decrees of the people. Judging it unfitting that so many and so well-deserving persons should be swept away by a burst of popular ill-will without trial, he pitted his resolution against the rashness of the populace and for all the

[16] 406: Plato *Apol.* 32b, Xen. *Hellen.* 1.7.15 etc.

obiecit, maximoque contionis fragore et incitatissimis minis compulsus non est ut se publicae dementiae auctorem ascriberet. quae, oppositu eius legitima grassari via prohibita, iniusto praetorum cruore manus suas contaminare perseveravit. nec timuit Socrates ne consternatae patriae undecimus furor mors ipsius exsisteret.

ext. 4 Proximum, etsi non eiusdem splendoris est, at aeque certum constantiae haberi potest experimentum. efficacis operae forensis, fidei non latentis Athenis Ephialtes accusare publice iussus et inter ceteros Demostrati nomen deferre coactus est, cuius filius erat Demochares excellentis formae puer, animo eius flagrantissimo inhaerens amore. itaque communis officii sorte truculentus accusator, privati adfectus condicione miserabilis reus, puerum ad se exorandum quo parcius patris criminibus insisteret venientem neque repellere neque supplicem genibus suis advolutum intueri sustinuit, sed operto capite flens et gemens preces expromere passus est, nihilominusque sincera fide accusatum Demostratum damnavit. victoriam nescio laude an tormento maiore partam, quoniam prius quam sontem opprimeret se ipsum vicit Ephialtes.

ext. 5 Quem Syracusanus Dio severitate exempli praegravat. quibusdam monentibus ut adversus Heraclidem et Callippum, quorum fidei plurimum credebat, tamquam insidias ei nectentes cautior esset, respondit vita se malle excedere quam metu violentae mortis amicos inimicis iuxta ponere.

---

[17] On the contrary Socrates obstructed the assembly's decree as unlawful (see SB[3]).

[18] Possibly the fifth-century Athenian politician, but the episode is not mentioned elsewhere.

[19] Austere in that it has no love interest.

loud clamour and excited threats of the assembly could not be forced to sponsor the public insanity. Barred by his opposition from proceeding by the path of law,[17] they persisted in polluting their hands with the wrongful blood of the commanders. Nor was Socrates afraid that his death would make an eleventh madness of his frantic country.

What comes next does not have the same reclame but can be considered an equally sure test of resolution. Ephialtes,[18] an effective attorney of acknowledged integrity, was made public prosecutor and obliged to lay charges against Demostratus among others, whose son Demochares, a singularly handsome boy, lodged in Ephialtes' heart with a passionate fondness. Thus by the lottery of public office a ferocious prosecutor but by circumstance of private feeling a pitiable defendant, he could not bring himself to repulse the boy when he came to beg him to bear lightly on the charges against the father nor yet to look at him as he fell in supplication at his knees, but with covered head, weeping and groaning, let him set forth his entreaties. None the less he prosecuted Demostratus in good faith and secured a conviction; a victory whether gained with more glory than torment I know not. For before crushing the guilty man, Ephialtes conquered himself.

Him Dio of Syracuse outweighs in the austerity[19] of his example. He was warned by certain persons to be more on his guard against Heraclides and Callippus, whom he trusted implicitly, as spinning plots against him. He replied that he would rather take leave of life than put friends on a level with foes in fear of a violent death.[20]

[20] 354: Plut. *Dion* 56, *Moral.* 176F, 530.C; cf. Nep. *Dio* 8.4f.

ext. 6 Quod sequitur et rei ipsius admiratione et claritate auctoris illustre. Alexander, Macedonum rex, inclita iam pugna excellentissimis opibus Darei contusis, aestu et itineris fervore in Cilicia percalefactus Cydno, qui aquae liquore conspicuus Tarson interfluit, corpus suum immersit. subito deinde ex nimio haustu rigore[124] obstupefactis nervis ac torpore hebetatis artubus, maxima cum exanimatione totius exercitus in oppidum castris propinquum defertur. iacebat aeger Tarsi, inque valitudine eius adversa instantis victoriae spes fluctuabat. itaque convocati medici attentissimo consilio salutis remedia circumspiciebant.[125] quorum cum ad unam potionem sententiae[126] derexissent atque eam Philippus medicus suis manibus temperatam Alexandro—erat autem ipsius amicus et comes—porrexisset, a Parmenione missae litterae superveniunt, admonentes ut rex insidias Philippi perinde ac pecunia corrupti a Dareo caveret. quas cum legisset, sine ulla cunctatione medicamentum hausit ac tum legendas Philippo tradidit. pro quo tam constanti erga amicum iudicio dignissimam a dis immortalibus mercedem recepit, qui incolumitatis eius praesidium falso interpellari indicio noluerunt.

[124] rigore *SB*[3]: -ris AL
[125] circumsp- A: circuminsp- LG
[126] sententiae *Lipsius*: -iam AL; Br

What follows is illustrious by reason both of admiration for the thing itself and the celebrity of the doer. Alexander, king of the Macedonians, having beaten down the preeminent power of Darius in a famous battle,[21] was in Cilicia. Overheated by the weather and the stress of travel, he plunged his body into the Cydnus, which flows through Tarsus, remarkable for the limpidity of its stream. Then suddenly from drinking too much his muscles were numbed with cramps and his limbs dulled in paralysis; and to the utmost consternation of the whole army he was carried into the town, which was close to the camp. There he lay sick in Tarsus and the prospect of imminent victory faltered at his distemper. So doctors were summoned and with sedulous deliberation looked about for remedies to cure him. Among these they fixed on one potion, which Philippus, a doctor, mixed with his own hands and offered to Alexander, whose friend and companion he was. At that moment a letter arrived from Parmenio with a warning that the king should beware of Philippus' treachery as having been bribed by Darius. When Alexander read the letter, he drank the medicine without any hesitation and then handed it to Philippus to read. For so resolute a confidence in his friend he received a most fitting reward from the immortal gods, who would not let the saving antidote be thwarted by false information.[22]

[21] Issus (333) seems to be intended, though it took place after Alexander's illness.

[22] Plut. *Alex.* 19, Justin 11.8 etc.

LIBER QUARTUS

1. DE MODERATIONE

praef. Transgrediar ad saluberrimam partem animi, moderationem, quae mentes nostras impotentiae ‹et›[1] temeritatis incursu transversas ferri non patitur. quo evenit ut reprehensionis morsu sit vacua et laudis quaestu sit opulentissima. itaque effectus suos in claris viris recognoscat.

1 Atque ut ab incunabulis summi honoris incipiam, P. Valerius, qui populi maiestatem venerando Publicolae nomen adsecutus est, cum exactis regibus imperii eorum vim universam omniaque insignia sub titulo consulatus in se translata cerneret, invidiosum magistratus fastigium moderatione ad tolerabilem habitum deduxit, fasces securibus vacuefaciendo et in contione populo summittendo. numerum quoque eorum dimidia ex parte minuit ultro Sp. Lucretio collega adsumpto, ad quem, quia maior natu erat, priorem fasces transferri iussit. legem etiam comitiis centuriatis tulit, ne quis magistratus civem Romanum adversus provocationem verberare aut necare vellet. ita, quo civitatis condicio liberior esset, imperium suum paulatim destruxit. quid quod aedes suas diruit, quia excelsiore loco

[1] *add.* A *corr.*

BOOK IV

1. OF MODERATION

I shall pass to the most salutary part of the soul, moderation, which does not let our minds be carried away by a rush of uncontrolled passion. So comes it that this quality is always exempt from bite of censure and rich in earning of praise. Therefore let it recognize its effects in famous men.

To begin from the cradle of the highest office, P. Valerius won the name of Publicola by reverencing the majesty of the people. After the expulsion of the kings, he saw the entirety of their power and all its emblems transferred to himself under the title of Consul. He reduced the invidious eminence of the magistracy to a tolerable level by moderation, withdrawing axes from the fasces and lowering the latter in assemblies of the people. He also halved their number and of his own accord took Sp. Lucretius as his colleague, to whom he had the fasces transferred, giving him priority because he was older. He further carried a law in the assembly of centuries forbidding magistrates to flog or put to death a Roman citizen against appeal. Thus to give more freedom to the community he whittled down his own power bit by bit. Add that he demolished his house

positae instar arcis habere videbantur? nonne quantum domo inferior tantum gloria superior evasit?

2 Vix iuvat abire a Publicola, sed venire ad Furium Camillum libet, cuius tam moderatus ex magna ignominia ad summum imperium transitus fuit, ut cum praesidium eius cives, capta urbe a Gallis, Ardeae exsulantis petissent, non prius Veios ad accipiendum exercitum iret quam de dictatura sua omnia sollemni iure acta comperisset. magnificus Camilli Veientanus triumphus, egregia Gallica victoria, sed ista cunctatio longe admirabilior: multo enim multoque se ipsum quam hostem superare operosius est, nec adversa praepropera festinatione fugientem nec secunda effuso gaudio apprehendentem.

3 Par Furio moderatione Marcius Rutilus Censorinus: iterum enim censor creatus ad contionem populum vocatum quam potuit gravissima oratione corripuit. quod eam potestatem bis sibi detulisset cuius maiores, quia nimis magna videretur, tempus coartandum iudicassent. uterque recte, et Censorinus et populus: alter enim ut moderate honores crederent praecepit, alter se moderato credidit.

4 Age, L. Quinctius Cincinnatus qualem consulem gessit! cum honorem eius patres conscripti continuare vellent, non solum propter illius egregia opera sed etiam quod populus eosdem tribunos in proximum annum creare conabatur, quorum neutrum iure fieri poterat, utrumque discussit, senatus simul studium inhibendo et

---

[1] Broughton I.2.

[2] Livy 5.46.11 etc.

[3] Plut. *Coriol.* 1. Marcius remained in office but presented a law against reelection of Censors in future.

because it stood on high ground giving the appearance of a citadel. Can we not say that the lower his house, the more lofty became his glory?[1]

With some reluctance I leave Publicola, but I am glad to come to Furius Camillus. So moderate was his passage from deep disgrace to the highest authority that when he was in exile at Ardea and his countrymen besought his aid after the capture of the city by the Gauls, he did not go to Veii to take command of the army until he had ascertained that everything concerning his appointment as Dictator had been carried out in regular legal form.[2] Magnificent as was Camillus' Veientane triumph, splendid as was his Gallic victory, this delay was far more admirable. For it is far and far away more difficult to win a battle over oneself than over an enemy, neither escaping adversity in precipitate haste nor clutching at prosperity in effusive joy.

Equal to Furius in moderation was Marcius Rutilus Censorinus. Elected Censor for the second time, he summoned the people to assembly and rebuked them in a speech as stern as he could make it for presenting him twice with a power which their ancestors had thought proper to limit in duration because it seemed too great. Each was in the right, both Censorinus and the people. The former advised them to entrust offices moderately, the latter trusted itself to a man of moderation.[3]

And now, what a Consul L. Quinctius Cincinnatus made! The Conscript Fathers wanted to continue him in office, not only because of his excellent performance but also because the people were trying to elect the same Tribunes for the coming year. Neither proceeding was legally possible and Cincinnatus dispelled both by simultaneously checking the zeal of the senate and obliging the Tribunes

tribunos verecundiae suae exemplum sequi cogendo, atque unus causa fuit ut amplissimus ordo populusque tutus esset ab iniusti facti reprehensione.

5 Fabius vero Maximus, cum a se quinquies et a patre avo proavo maioribusque suis saepenumero consulatum gestum animadverteret, comitiis, quibus filius eius summo consensu consul creabatur, quam potuit constanter cum populo egit ut aliquando vacationem huius honoris Fabiae genti daret, non quod virtutibus filii diffideret—erat enim illuster—, sed ne maximum imperium in una familia continuaretur. quid hac moderatione efficacius aut valentius, quae etiam patrios adfectus, qui potentissimi habentur, superavit?

6a Non defuit maioribus grata mens ad praemia superiori Africano exsolvenda, si quidem maxima eius merita paribus ornamentis decorare conati sunt. voluerunt illi statuas in comitio, in rostris, in curia, in ipsa denique Iovis Optimi Maximi cella ponere, voluerunt imaginem eius triumphali ornatu indutam Capitolinis pulvinaribus applicare, voluerunt ei continuum per omnes vitae annos consulatum perpetuamque dictaturam tribuere: quorum <nihil>[2] sibi neque plebiscito dari neque senatus consulto decerni patiendo paene tantum se in recusandis honoribus gessit quantum egerat in emerendis.

[2] *add.* G

---

[4] Livy 3.21; but the Tribunes had already been reelected (Broughton I.38).

[5] Probably the Cunctator, whose son was Consul in 213 and himself for the fifth and last time in 214. His father may not have

to follow his own modest example. He singly was the reason why the most honourable order and the people were saved from censure for an impropriety.[4]

Fabius Maximus,[5] observing that the Consulship had been held five times by himself and often by his father, his grandfather, his great-grandfather, and his ancestors, at elections in which his son was by way of being chosen Consul by a full consensus, did his resolute best to persuade the people to give the Fabian clan a holiday from this office at long last; not that he lacked confidence in his son's fine qualities (for he was a man of distinction) but so that the highest authority should not be continuous in one family. What could be more effective and potent than this moderation, that overcame even paternal affection, which is accounted the most powerful of all?

Our ancestors were not wanting in grateful readiness to pay due rewards to the elder Africanus, for they tried to adorn his signal services with commensurate marks of distinction. They wished to set up statues to him in the place of assembly, the rostra, the senate house, finally in the very sanctuary of Jupiter Best and Greatest; they wished to place his effigy dressed in triumphal attire close to the Capitoline couches; they wished to give him a Consulship to continue through all the years of his life and a Dictatorship in perpetuity. None of which would he suffer to be conferred upon him either by popular resolution or by decree of the senate, thereby showing himself almost as great a man in refusing honours as in deserving them.[6]

been Consul at all (see Münzer, *RE* Fabius 116). The story is not found elsewhere.

[6] Cf. Livy 38.56.11–13.

6b Eodem robore mentis causam Hannibalis in senatu protexit, cum eum cives sui missis legatis tamquam seditiones apud eos moventem accusarent. adiecit quoque non oportere patres conscriptos se rei publicae Carthaginiensium interponere, altissimaque moderatione alterius saluti consuluit, alterius dignitati, victoria tenus utriusque hostem egisse contentus.

7 At M. Marcellus, qui primus et Hannibalem vinci et Syracusas capi posse docuit, cum in consulatu quarto[3] eius Siculi de eo questum in urbem venissent, nec senatum illa[4] de re habuit, quia collega Valerius Laevinus forte aberat, ne ob id Siculi in querendo timidiores essent, et ut is rediit, ultro de iis admittendis rettulit querentesque de se patienter sustinuit. iussos etiam a Laevino discedere remanere, ut suae defensioni interessent, coegit, ac deinde, utraque parte perorata, excedentes curia subsecutus est, quo liberius senatus sententiam ferret. improbatis quoque eorum querellis, supplices et orantes ut ab eo in clientelam reciperentur clementer excepit. super haec Siciliam sortitus ea provincia collegae cessit. totiens laudatio Marcelli variari non potest quotiens ipse novis gradibus moderationis adversus socios usus est.

8 Quam Ti. etiam Gracchus admirabilem se exhibuit! tribunus enim plebis, cum ex professo inimicitias cum Afri-

[3] consulatu (L *corr.*) iv *Heraeus*: -tum AL
[4] illa *Gelbcke*: ulla AL

---

[7] 195: Livy 33.47.3–6.
[8] 210: Livy 26.26.5–9 etc.

With the same strength of mind he defended Hannibal's cause in the senate, when Hannibal's countrymen sent envoys accusing him of stirring up strife among them. Scipio further added that it was not proper for the Conscript Fathers to interfere in the commonwealth of Carthage. Thus with profound moderation he befriended the civic existence of the one and the dignity of the other, content to have acted as the enemy of both until the war was won.[7]

M. Marcellus, who was the first to show that Hannibal could be defeated and that Syracuse could be captured, was Consul for the fourth time when Sicilians came to Rome to make complaints about him. He did not convene the senate on the matter because his colleague Valerius Laevinus happened to be away and he was afraid that the Sicilians would on that account be less bold in airing their grievances. When Valerius returned, Marcellus made a motion of his own accord to admit them and patiently put up with them as they complained about himself. Also, when Laevinus ordered them to leave, he made them remain so that they should be present during his defence and then, both sides having finished their pleas, he followed them as they left the house to let the senate give its vote in greater freedom. When their complaints were disapproved, he gave a mild reception to their suppliant plea to be admitted as his clients. On top of all this, having drawn Sicily as his province, he yielded it to his colleague.[8] It is not possible to vary the praise of Marcellus as often as he himself entered new stages of moderation towards our allies.

How admirable too was Ti. Gracchus' behaviour! As Tribune of the Plebs he was at open enmity with the

cano et Asiatico Scipionibus gereret, et Asiaticus iudicatae pecuniae satisdare non posset, atque ideo a consule in vincula publica duci iussus esset, appellassetque collegium tribunorum, nullo volente intercedere secessit a collegis decretumque composuit. nec quisquam dubitavit quin in eo scribendo ira tinctis[5] adversus Asiaticum verbis usurus esset. at is primum iuravit se cum Scipionibus in gratiam non redisse, deinde tale decretum recitavit: cum L. Cornelius Scipio die triumphi sui ante currum actos hostium duces in carcerem coniecerit, indignum et alienum maiestate rei publicae videri eodem ipsum duci: itaque id non passurum fieri. libenter tunc opinionem suam populus Romanus a Graccho deceptam cognovit, moderationemque eius debita laude prosecutus est.

9 C. quoque Claudius Nero inter cetera praecipuae moderationis exempla numerandus est. Livii Salinatoris in Hasdrubale opprimendo gloriae particeps fuerat. tamen eum triumphantem equo sequi quam triumpho, quem senatus ei aeque decreverat, uti maluit, quia res in provincia Salinatoris gesta erat. sic[6] sine curru triumphavit, eo quidem clarius quod illius victoria tantummodo laudabatur, huius etiam moderatio.

10a Nè Africanus quidem posterior nos de se tacere patitur. qui censor, cum lustrum conderet inque solitaurilium[7] sacrificio scriba ex publicis tabulis sollemne ei precationis

[5] ira tinctis *Kempf*: irati noctis AL; Br
[6] sic *SB*: *spat.* AG: *om.* L: atque is A *corr.*
[7] solitaurilium *Kempf*: solita viri AL

---

[9] 184? Cf. Broughton I.376.
[10] 207: Livy 28.9.9–11.

Scipios, Africanus and Asiaticus. Asiaticus was unable to give security for a sum adjudged and on that account the Consul ordered him to be taken to gaol. He appealed to the board of Tribunes, but none of them was willing to intervene on his behalf. Gracchus then drew apart from his colleagues and composed a decree. Nobody doubted that in drafting it he would use expressions flavoured with animosity against Asiaticus. But Gracchus first stated on oath that he had not resumed friendly relations with the Scipios, then read out a decree such as follows: "Since L. Cornelius Scipio on the day of his triumph had enemy captains walk before his chariot and threw them into prison, it appears unfitting and foreign to the majesty of the commonwealth that he himself should be taken to the same; therefore he, Gracchus, would not allow this to happen." The Roman people gladly recognized that Gracchus had belied their opinion and greeted his moderation with due praise.[9]

C. Claudius Nero too is to be counted among other examples of exceptional moderation. He had shared Livius Salinator's glory in the destruction of Hasdrubal. Nevertheless he preferred to follow Salinator's triumphal car on horseback rather than avail himself of the triumph which the senate had decreed to him equally, because the battle had taken place in Salinator's province. Thus did he triumph without a chariot, and with greater éclat because in Salinator's case only victory was praised, but in Nero's moderation as well.[10]

Nor does the younger Africanus let us keep silent about him. When as Censor he was winding up the census and in the sacrifice of solitaurilia the scribe was reciting before him from the public tables the formula of prayer in

carmen praeiret, quo di immortales ut populi Romani res meliores amplioresque facerent rogabantur, 'satis' inquit 'bonae et magnae sunt: itaque precor ut eas perpetuo incolumes servent,' ac protinus in publicis tabulis ad hunc modum carmen emendari iussit. qua votorum verecundia deinceps censores in condendis lustris usi sunt: prudenter enim sensit tunc incrementum Romano imperio petendum fuisse cum intra septimum lapidem triumphi quaerebantur, maiorem autem totius terrarum orbis partem possidenti ut avidum esse quicquam ultra appetere ita abunde felix si nihil ex eo quod obtinebat amitteret.

10b Neque alia eius in censura moderatio pro tribunali apparuit. centurias recognoscens equitum, postquam C. Licinium Sacerdotem citatum processisse animadvertit, dixit se scire illum verbis conceptis peierasse: proinde, si quis eum accusare vellet, usurum testimonio suo. sed nullo ad id negotium accedente 'transduc equum' inquit, 'Sacerdos, ac lucrifac censoriam notam, ne ego in tua persona et accusatoris et testis et iudicis partes egisse videar.'

11 Quod animi temperamentum etiam in Q. Scaevola, excellentissimo viro, adnotatum est: testis namque in reum productus, cum id respondisset quod salutem periclitantis magnopere laesurum videbatur, discedens adiecit ita sibi credi oportere si et alii idem adseverassent, quoniam unius testimonio aliquem cadere[8] pessimi esset exempli. et

[8] cadere *Per.* (cadit *Tortarius*): ced- AL

---

[11] 141: but this item seems to be unhistorical; cf. *RE* IV.1451f.
[12] Cic. *Cluent.* 134.

which the immortal gods were asked to make the state of the Roman people better and greater, "It is good and great enough," said Scipio. "So I pray the gods to keep it safe in perpetuity." And on the words he gave order that the formula in the public tables be emended accordingly.[11] From that time on Censors have used this modest form of prayer in winding up censuses. For he wisely realized that increase for Roman empire was to be asked for in the days when triumphs were sought on the near side of the seventh milestone, but for a people that possessed the greater part of the whole globe it would be greedy to ask for more and abundantly fortunate if they lost nothing of what was already theirs.

Nor did his censorial moderation show itself less clearly on his tribunal. In reviewing the centuries of knights, he observed C. Licinius Sacerdos come forward as his name was called and said that he knew him to have committed perjury in set terms; therefore if anyone wished to charge him, his, Scipio's, testimony would be at his disposal. But when nobody took the matter up, "Lead your horse across, Sacerdos," he said, "and go free of the censorial stigma. For I must not seem to have played the role of prosecutor cum witness cum jury in your particular."[12]

This mental balance was also noted in the excellent Q. Scaevola.[13] Brought forward as a witness against a defendant, he gave an answer which seemed likely to be highly prejudicial to the prospects of the accused. But as he left he added that he should be believed only if others made the same assertion, since for anyone to be convicted on the evidence of a single witness would be a very bad prece-

[13] Whether the Pontifex or the Augur is not determined.

religioni igitur suae debitam fidem et communi utilitati salubre consilium reddidit.

12 Sentio quos cives quaeve facta eorum ac dicta quam angusto[9] ambitu orationis amplectar. sed cum magna mihi[10] atque permulta[11] breviter dicenda sint, claritate excellentibus infinitis personis rebusque circumfusus ‹stilus›[12] utrumque praestare non potuit. itaque[13] propositi quoque nostri ratio non laudanda sibi omnia sed recordanda sumpsit. quapropter bona cum venia duo Metelli, Macedonicus et Numidicus, maxima patriae ornamenta, strictim se narrari patientur.

Acerrime cum Scipione Africano Macedonicus dissenserat, eorumque ab aemulatione virtutis profecta concertatio[14] ad graves testatasque inimicitias progressa fuerat: sed tamen, cum interemptum Scipionem conclamari audisset, in publicum se proripuit maestoque vultu et voce confusa 'concurrite, concurrite' inquit, 'cives! moenia nostrae urbis eversa sunt: Scipioni enim Africano intra suos penates quiescenti nefaria vis allata est.' o rem publicam pariter Africani morte miseram et Macedonici tam humana tamque civili lamentatione felicem! eodem enim tempore et quantum amisisset principem et qualem haberet recognovit. idem filios suos monuit ut funebri eius lecto umeros subicerent, atque huic exsequiarum illum honorem vocis adiecit, non fore ut postea id officium ab illis maiori viro praestari posset. ubi illa tot in curia iur-

[9] angusto ς: brevissimo* G: *om.* AL; Br [10] mihi atque per *intra cruces Briscoe* [11] permulta A: multa L; Br

[12] *add.* (*sed post* potuit) *Rossbach* [13] non p- itaque *intra cruces Briscoe* [14] concertatio *Madvig*: concita- AL: contentio ς

dent. So he paid due respect to his oath and at the same time gave advice of benefit to the public interest.

I realize what citizens are these, what acts and sayings of theirs, and in how narrow a verbal compass I am embracing them. But since I have to tell in brief so many tales of greatness, my pen, surrounded by an infinite number of persons and affairs, could not do both offices for men of outstanding renown. Therefore the principle of my undertaking has been to take it all as matter for record, not eulogy. So the two Metelli, Macedonicus and Numidicus, great ornaments of their country, will with their good leave allow themselves to be narrated summarily.

Macedonicus had quarrelled bitterly with Scipio Africanus and their contention, proceeding from rivalry in merit, had advanced to serious and attested enmity. Nevertheless, when he heard that Scipio had been killed and was being bewailed, he dashed into public and with sorrowing face and choking voice, "Assemble, citizens, assemble"; he cried, "the walls of our city have been toppled. Villainous hands have been laid on Scipio Africanus as he slept in his home."[14] Ah commonwealth, unhappy in Africanus' death but no less fortunate in Macedonicus' lament, so worthy of a human being and a citizen! For at one and the same time it recognized what a great leader it had lost and what kind of leader it still had. He also told his sons to get their shoulders under Scipio's bier and to this burial honour he added a verbal one, that they could never in the future perform that office for a greater man. Where were all those wrangles in the senate house? Where all the alter-

[14] 129: Pliny *N.H.* 7.144, Plut. *Moral.* 202A.

gia? ubi tam[15] multae pro rostris altercationes? ubi maximorum civium et ducum tantum non togata proelia? omnia nimirum ista praecipua veneratione prosequenda delevit moderatio.

13 Numidicus autem Metellus populari factione patria pulsus in Asiam secessit. in qua cum ei forte ludos Trallibus spectanti litterae redditae essent, quibus scriptum erat maximo senatus et populi consensu reditum illi in urbem datum, non e theatro prius abiit quam spectaculum ederetur, non laetitiam suam proxime sedentibus ulla ex parte patefecit sed summum gaudium intra se continuit. eundem constat pari vultu et exsulem fuisse et restitutum. adeo moderationis beneficio medius semper inter secundas et adversas res animi firmitate versatus est.

14 Tot familiis in uno genere laudis enumeratis, Porcium nomen velut expers huiusce gloriae silentio praetereundum <es>se negat [fieri debere][16] posterior Cato, non parvo summae moderationis fisus indicio. Cypriacam pecuniam maxima cum diligentia et sanctitate in urbem deportaverat, cuius ministerii gratia senatus relationem interponi iubebat, ut praetoriis comitiis extra ordinem ratio eius haberetur. sed ipse id fieri passus non est, iniquum esse adfirmans quod nulli alii tribueretur sibi decerni, ac ne quid in persona sua novaretur, campestrem experiri temeritatem quam curiae beneficio uti satius esse duxit.

15 Ad externa iam mihi exempla transire conanti M. Bibulus, vir amplissimae dignitatis et summis honoribus func-

[15] tam G: tot AL [16] *sic Madvig*: silentio . . . debere *intra cruces Briscoe*; Br

---

[15] 98: Auct. vir. ill. 62.3.

[16] 56: Plut. *Cat. min.* 39, Dio 39.23.1.

cations on the rostra? Where the battles in mufti, almost literal, of those great citizens and captains? All such, I warrant, were obliterated by moderation signally to be reverenced.

Numidicus Metellus, driven from his country by a democratic faction, retired to Asia. He happened to be watching games at Tralles when a letter was delivered to him containing the news that return to Rome had been granted him by an overwhelming consensus of senate and people. He did not leave the theatre before the show was over nor in the slightest reveal his joy to those sitting next to him, but kept his great happiness to himself.[15] He is also said to have worn the same countenance in exile as after his restoration. In prosperity and adversity he always stood midway through strength of mind, thanks to moderation.

When so many families have been enumerated in one category of praise, the younger Cato forbids that the Porcian name be passed over in silence as though having no share in this glory. He relies on one no small token of the highest moderation. He had brought back the Cyprian money to Rome with the utmost diligence and integrity. In appreciation of this service the senate ordered that a motion be put allowing him to stand in the praetorian elections out of regular order. But he himself would not let this be done. It was unfair, he maintained, that a privilege not granted to anybody else should be decreed for him. And rather than see an innovation apply to him individually, he thought it better to take his chance with a capricious electorate than make use of the senate's concession.[16]

As I am now making to pass on to external examples, M. Bibulus, a most eminent personage who had discharged

tus, manus inicit. qui cum in Syria provincia moraretur, duos egregiae indolis filios suos a Gabinianis militibus Aegypti occisos cognovit. quorum interfectores ad eum vinctos regina Cleopatra misit, ut gravissimae cladis ultionem arbitrio suo exigeret. at ille, oblato beneficio quo nullum maius lugenti tribui poterat, dolorem moderationi cedere coegit, carnificesque sanguinis sui intactos e vestigio ad Cleopatram reduci iussit, dicendo potestatem huius vindictae non suam sed senatus esse debere.

ext. 1 Tarentinus Archytas, dum se Pythagorae praeceptis Metaponti penitus immergit, magno labore longoque tempore solidum opus doctrinae complexus, postquam in patriam revertit ac rura sua revisere coepit, animadvertit neglegentia vilici corrupta et perdita, intuensque male meritum 'sumpsissem' inquit 'a te supplicium, nisi tibi iratus essem': maluit enim impunitum dimittere quam propter iram iusto gravius punire.

ext. 2a Nimis liberalis Archytae moderatio, temperatior Platonis: nam cum adversus delictum servi vehementius exarsisset, veritus ne ipse vindictae modum dispicere non posset, Speusippo amico castigationis arbitrium mandavit, deforme sibi futurum existimans si commisisset ut parem reprehensionem culpa servi et animadversio Platonis mereretur.

ext. 2b Quo minus miror quod in Xenocrate discipulo suo tam constanter moderatus fuit. audierat eum de se multa impie

---

[17] 50: cf. Cic. *Att.* 6.5.3, Caes. *Bell. Civ.* 3.110.6; Sen. *Dial.* 6.14.2.

[18] Cic. *Rep.* 1.59, *Tusc.* 4.78 etc.

[19] Plut. *Moral.* 10D, Diog. Laert. 3.38, Sen. *De ira* 3.5.5–7.

the highest offices, lays hand on me. While resident in his province of Syria he learned that two sons of his of outstanding promise had been killed in Egypt by soldiers of Gabinius. Queen Cleopatra sent him the killers in chains so that he could take vengeance for his grievous calamity at will. No greater favour could have been extended to a mourner. But when offered it, he made grief yield to moderation and had the slaughterers of his flesh and blood returned to Cleopatra immediately unharmed, saying that the power to punish them should be the senate's, not his.[17]

EXTERNAL

Archytas of Tarentum plunged deep into the precepts of Pythagoras at Metapontum and after much labour and a long time embraced a solid structure of learning. On returning to his country he proceeded to revisit his rural property and found it gone to wrack and ruin through the negligence of the bailiff. Looking at the delinquent, he said: "I should chastise you if I were not angry with you." For he preferred to let the man go unpunished rather than punish him to excess because of his anger.[18]

Archytas' moderation was over-generous, Plato's more temperate. The misdoing of a slave had made him flare up in a fury. Fearing that he himself might not be able to discern the proper measure of punishment, he entrusted the regulation of the chastisement to his friend Speusippus. He thought it would reflect badly on him if he let the fault of a slave and the anger of Plato be deserving of equal censure.[19]

I am the less surprised at his resolute moderation in the case of his pupil Xenocrates. Hearing that the same had said many undutiful things about himself, he rejected the

locutum: sine ulla cunctatione criminationem respuit. instabat certo vultu index, causam quaerens cur sibi fides non haberetur: obiecit[17] non esse credibile ut quem tantopere amaret, ab eo invicem non diligeretur. postremo, cum ad ius iurandum inimicitias serentis malignitas confugisset, ne de periurio eius disputaret, adfirmavit numquam Xenocratem illa dicturum fuisse, nisi ea dici expedire sibi iudicasset. non in corpore mortali sed in arce caelesti, et quidem armatum, animum eius vitae stationem putes peregisse, humanorum vitiorum incursus a se invicta pugna repellentem, cunctosque virtutis numeros altitudinis suae sinu clausos custodientem.

ext. 3 Nequaquam Platoni litterarum commendatione par Syracusanus Dio, sed quod ad praestandam moderationem attinuit, vehementioris experimenti. patria pulsus a Dionysio tyranno Megaram petierat. ubi cum Theodorum principem eius urbis domi convenire vellet neque admitteretur, multum diuque ante fores retentus comiti suo 'patienter hoc ferendum est' ait: 'forsitan enim et nos, cum in gradu dignitatis nostrae essemus, aliquid tale fecimus.' qua tranquillitate consilii ipse sibi condicionem exsilii placidiorem reddidit.

ext. 4 Thrasybulus etiam hoc loci apprehendendus est, qui populum Atheniensem triginta tyrannorum saevitia sedes suas relinquere coactum, dispersamque et vagam vitam miserabiliter exigentem, animis pariter atque armis confirmatum in patriam reduxit. insignem deinde restitutione libertatis victoriam clariorem aliquanto moderatio-

[17] obiecit *Eberhard*: adie- AL

---

[20] Not found elsewhere. [21] Plut. *Dio* 17.

ill report without any hesitation. The informer insisted with a firm front, asking why he should not be believed; Plato objected that it was incredible that someone for whom he had so much affection should not love him in return. Finally the malignity of the mischief-maker resorted to an oath. Not wishing to argue about his perjury, Plato asserted that Xenocrates would never have said the things alleged if he had not thought it in his, Plato's, interest that they should be said.[20] One would think his soul had kept life's station in no mortal body but in a celestial citadel and armed too, repelling from itself the incursions of human vices in unconquerable combat and guarding all the constituents of virtue locked in the bosom of its own profundity.

Dio of Syracuse was by no means Plato's equal in literary grace, but so far as concerned the display of moderation, he gave a stronger proof. Driven from his country by the tyrant Dionysius, he had come to Megara. There he wanted to meet the leading citizen of the place, Theodorus, at his home and was not admitted. Often kept at the door for long periods, he said to his companion: "One must put up with this patiently. Perhaps I too, when I was up in my high station, did something of the same kind." By this calm good sense he made his state of exile easier for himself.[21]

At this point I must catch hold of Thrasybulus. He strengthened in spirit and in arms the people of Athens, who had been forced to leave their dwellings by the cruelty of the Thirty Tyrants and were miserably leading a scattered and wandering life, and brought them back to their country. Then he rendered a victory distinguished by the restitution of freedom yet more brilliant by the glory of

nis laude fecit: plebei enim scitum interposuit, ne qua praeteritarum rerum mentio fieret. haec oblivio, quam Athenienses amnestian vocant, concussum et labentem civitatis statum in pristinum habitum revocavit.

ext. 5 Non minoris admirationis illud: Stasippus Tegeates, hortantibus amicis ut gravem in administratione rei publicae aemulum sed alioqui probum et ornatum virum qualibet ratione vel tolleret vel summoveret, negavit se facturum, ne quem in tutela patriae bonus civis locum obtineret, malus et improbus occuparet, seque potius vehementer <ab>[18] adversario urgueri quam patriam egregio advocato carere praeoptavit.

ext. 6 Pittaci quoque moderatione pectus instructum. qui Alcaeum poetam et amaritudine odii et viribus ingenii adversus se pertinacissime usum, tyrannidem a civibus delatam adeptus, tantummodo <manu os>[19] opprimendo quid in <eo>[20] posset admonuit.

ext. 7 Huius viri mentio subicit ut de septem sapientium moderatione referam. a piscatoribus in Milesia regione everriculum trahentibus quidam iactum emerat. extracta deinde magni ponderis aurea Delphica mensa, orta controversia est, illis piscium se capturam vendidisse adfirmantibus, hoc fortunam iactus emisse dicente. qua cognitione[21] propter novitatem rei et magnitudinem pe-

[18] *add. Halm*
[19] *add. SB*[1]
[20] quid in eo *hic SB*[1]: *post* tantummodo AL (*om.* eo), P
[21] cognitione *Lipsius*: condit- AL

---

[22] "Oblivion."
[23] 403: Xen. *Hellen.* 2.4.43 etc.

moderation, for he put forward a decree of the people forbidding any mention of past events. This oblivion, which the Athenians call "amnesty,"[22] recalled the shaken and tottering state of the community to its old condition.[23]

The following is no less admirable. Stasippus of Tegea was urged by his friends to eliminate or remove no matter by what means an irksome political rival, who however was otherwise a man of honour and distinction. He refused to do it, in case the place held by a good citizen in the guardianship of their country be seized by some wicked rascal. He preferred that he himself should be pressed hard by an adversary than that their country should lose a fine helper.[24]

Pittacus' breast too was equipped with moderation. The poet Alcaeus had unrelentingly exploited against him the bitterness of his hatred and the resources of his genius. But when he gained the position of despot offered by his countrymen, he merely admonished the poet of his power over him by putting his hand upon his mouth.[25]

Mention of this individual suggests that I speak of the moderation of the Seven Wise Men. A certain person in the district of Miletus had bought their catch from fishermen who were using a dragnet. From it was extracted a golden tripod of great weight. A dispute arose, one side asserting that they had sold a catch of fish, the other that he had bought the luck of the drag. Because of the novelty of the affair and the amount of money involved the contro-

[24] About 370. Not found elsewhere.

[25] Not found elsewhere. Pittacus became ruler of Mytilene early in the sixth century.

cuniae ad universum civitatis eius populum delata, placuit Apollinem Delphicum consuli cuinam adiudicari mensa deberet. deus respondit illi esse dandam qui sapientia ceteros praestaret, his verbis:

τίς σοφίᾳ πρῶτος πάντων; τούτῳ τρίποδ' αὐδῶ.[22]

tum Milesii consensu[23] Thaleti mensam dederunt, ille cessit ea Bianti, Bias Pittaco, is protinus alii, deincepsque per omnium septem sapientium orbem ad ultimum ad Solonem pervenit, qui et titulum amplissimae prudentiae et praemium ad ipsum Apollinem transtulit.

ext. 8 Atque ut Theopompo quoque, Spartanorum regi, moderationis testimonium reddamus, cum primus instituisset ut ephori Lacedaemone crearentur, ita fu<tu>ri[24] regiae potestati oppositi quemadmodum Romae consulari imperio tribuni plebis sunt obiecti, atque illi cum uxor dixisset id egisse illum ut filiis minorem potestatem relinqueret, 'relinquam' inquit, 'sed diuturniorem.' optime quidem: ea enim demum tuta est potentia quae viribus suis modum imponit. igitur Theopompus regnum legitimis vinculis constringendo, quo longius a licentia retraxit, hoc ad benivolentiam civium propius admovit.

ext. 9 Antiochus autem, a L. Scipione ultra Taurum montem imperii finibus summotis, cum Asiam provinciam vicinasque ei gentes amisisset, gratias agere populo Romano

[22] *sic fere Casaubon; de* AL *vide Briscoe*
[23] consensu A *corr.*: -nso A: so* L [24] *add.* ς; Br

---

[26] Diodor. 9.12.3, Diog. Laert. 1.76.
[27] Late eighth century: Arist. *Pol.* 1313a etc.
[28] The future Roman province.

versy was taken before the entire people of the community, and it was decided that Apollo at Delphi should be asked to whom the tripod ought to be adjudged. The god responded that it should be given to him who excelled all others in wisdom, in the following words:

> Who is the first of all in wisdom? He
> Shall have the tripod. Such is my decree.

Then the Milesians by consensus gave the object to Thales. He yielded it to Bias, Bias to Pittacus, Pittacus then to another and so on through the entire round of the Seven Wise Men until finally it came to Solon, who transferred the title of greatest wisdom and the reward to Apollo himself.[26]

It is fair that we give testimony of moderation also to king Theopompus of Sparta. He first instituted the creation of ephors in Lacedaemon, who would stand in opposition to the regal power as in Rome the Tribunes of the Plebs were set up to counter consular authority. When his wife told him that he had managed matters so as to leave less power to his sons, "Ay," he said, "but longer lasting." Very right he was, for power is safe only if it imposes limits on its own strength. Therefore by confining the royal prerogative in legitimate constraints Theopompus placed it nearer the good will of the citizens the further he drew it back from licence.[27]

The boundaries of Antiochus' empire were moved by L. Scipio behind the Taurus mountain, so that he lost the province of Asia[28] and the neighbouring nations. Yet he quite unfeignedly thanked the Roman people in that he

non dissimulanter tulit, quod nimis magna procuratione liberatus modicis regni terminis uteretur. et sane nihil est tam praeclarum aut tam magnificum quod non moderatione temperari desideret.

2. QUI EX INIMICITIIS IUNCTI SUNT AMICITIA AUT NECESSITUDINE

praef. Quae quoniam multis et claris auctoribus illustrata est, transgrediamur ad egregium humani animi ab odio ad gratiam deflexum et quidem eum laeto stilo persequamur: nam si placidum mare ex aspero caelumque ex nubilo serenum hilari aspectu sentitur, si bellum pace mutatum plurimum gaudii adfert, offensarum etiam acerbitas deposita candida relatione celebranda est.

1 M. Aemilius Lepidus, bis consul et pontifex maximus, splendorique honorum par<i>[25] vitae gravitate, diutinas ac vehementes inimicitias cum Fulvio Flacco, eiusdem amplitudinis viro, gessit. quas, ut simul censores renuntiati sunt, in campo deposuit, existimans non oportere eos privatis inimicitiis dissidere qui publice summa iuncti essent potestate. id iudicium animi eius et praesens aetas comprobavit et nobis veteres annalium scriptores laudandum tradiderunt.

2 Sicut Livii quoque Salinatoris finiendarum simultatium illustre consilium ignotum posteritati esse noluerunt: is

[25] *add. Gertz*

---

[29] 189: Cic. *Deiot.* 36.

[1] 179: Cic. *Prov. cons.* 21, Livy 40.45.6–46.15. "Flaccus" is by mistake for Nobilior.

had been freed from too large a responsibility and now governed a kingdom of moderate dimensions.[29] To be sure, nothing is so splendid and magnificent as not to need tempering with moderation.

2. OF THOSE WHO FROM ENMITY WERE JOINED IN FRIENDSHIP OR CONNECTION

Since moderation has been illustrated by many famous sponsors, let us pass to the admirable deflexion of the human mind from hate to favour, and pursue it with rejoicing pen. When the sea turns from rough to calm or the sky from cloudy to clear, we perceive it with cheerful faces. War changed to peace brings great happiness. So the putting aside of bitter offence is to be celebrated in benevolent recital.

M. Aemilius Lepidus, twice Consul and Chief Pontiff, whose dignity of life matched the splendour of his offices, maintained a violent enmity of long standing with Fulvius Flaccus, a personage of the same high status. But when they were elected Censors at the same time, he laid aside their quarrel on the Campus, finding it improper for persons joined publicly in the highest authority to be at odds in private hostilities.[1] This judgment of his was approved by contemporaries,[2] and the old writers of annals have handed it down to us for commendation.

Just as they were unwilling that Livius Salinator's famous decision to end a feud should be unknown to pos-

[2] The poet Ennius included (Cic. *Prov. cons.* 21).

namque, etsi Neronis odio ardens in exsilium profectus fuerat, testimonio eius praecipue adflictus, tamen postquam eum inde revocatum cives collegam illi in consulatu dederunt, et ingenii sui, quod erat acerrimum, et iniuriae, quam gravissimam acceperat, oblivisci sibi imperavit, ne si dissidente animo consortionem imperii usurpare voluisset, pertinacem exhibendo inimicum malum consulem ageret. quae quidem mentis ad tranquilliorem habitum inclinatio in aspero ac difficili temporum articulo plurimum salutis urbi atque Italiae attulit, quia pari virtutis impetu conisi terribiles Punicas vires contuderunt.

3 Clarum etiam in Africano superiore ac Ti. Graccho depositarum inimicitiarum exemplum, si quidem ad cuius mensae sacra odio dissidentes venerant, ab ea et amicitia et adfinitate iuncti discesserunt: non contentus enim Scipio auctore senatu in Capitolio Iovis epulo cum Graccho concordiam communicasse, filiam quoque ei Corneliam protinus ibi despondit.

4 Sed huiusce generis humanitas etiam in M. Cicerone praecipua apparuit: A. namque Gabinium repetundarum reum summo studio defendit, qui eum in consulatu suo urbe expulerat, idemque P. Vatinium, dignitati suae semper infestum, duobus publicis iudiciis tutatus est, ut sine ullo crimine levitatis ita cum aliqua laude, quia speciosius aliquanto iniuriae beneficiis vincuntur quam mutui odii pertinacia pensantur.

---

3 208: Livy 27.35.6–9. 4 187 (?): Livy 38.57.2–8 etc.

5 54: Cicero's contemporary letters to Atticus show that he defended both unwillingly under pressure from Pompey and Caesar. Valerius' misrepresentation may indicate that he did not know Cicero's letters at firsthand. See 6.2.9 n.11.

terity. He had gone into exile burning with hatred for Nero, by whose testimony he had been especially damaged. But after he was recalled and his countrymen gave him to Nero as his colleague in the Consulship, he prevailed upon himself to forget his own disposition, which was of the harshest, and the injury he had received, which was of the gravest. For if he shared authority with a colleague with whom he was at loggerheads, he feared that in showing himself a determined enemy he would be behaving like a bad Consul. Thus bending his mind to a more pacific attitude, he greatly contributed to the salvation of Rome and Italy at a dangerous and difficult juncture. For striving in equality of valorous effort, they beat down the formidable power of Carthage.[3]

Famous too was the example of grudges laid aside in the case of the elder Africanus and Ti. Gracchus. They came to the rites of a common table as enemies hating one another, they left it joined in amity and affinity. For not content with reconciling himself to Gracchus by the senate's behest on the Capitol at the banquet of Jupiter, Scipio forthwith betrothed his daughter Cornelia to him on the spot.[4]

Good nature of this sort also showed itself conspicuously in M. Cicero. For he vigorously defended A. Gabinius on a charge of extortion, who in his Consulship had driven him out of Rome. He also protected P. Vatinius in two public trials, who had always been inimical to his own public standing; this without incurring the charge of levity, rather with some credit, for injuries are more handsomely overcome by kindness than balanced in pertinacity of mutual hate.[5]

5 Ciceronis autem factum adeo visum est probabile ut imitari id ne inimicissimus quidem illi P. Pulcher dubitaverit. qui, incesti crimine a tribus Lentulis accusatus, unum ex his ambitus reum patrocinio suo protexit, atque in animum induxit et iudices et praetorem et Vestae aedem intuens amicum Lentulo agere, inter quae ille, salutem eius foedo crimine obruere cupiens, hostili voce peroraverat.

6 Caninius autem Gallus reum pariter atque accusatorem admirabilem egit, et C. Antonii, quem damnaverat, filiam in matrimonium ducendo et M. Colonium, a quo damnatus fuerat, rerum suarum procuratorem habendo.

7 Caelii vero Rufi ut vita inquinata ita misericordia, quam Q. Pompeio praestitit, probanda. cui a se publica quaestione prostrato, cum mater Cornelia fidei commissa praedia non redderet atque iste auxilium suum litteris implorasset, pertinacissime absenti adfuit: recitavit etiam eius epistulam in ‹iu›dicio, ultimae necessitatis indicem, qua impiam Corneliae avaritiam subvertit. factum propter eximiam humanitatem ne sub Caelio quidem auctore repudiandum.

3. DE ABSTINENTIA ET CONTINENTIA

praef. Magna cura praecipuoque studio referendum est quantopere libidinis et avaritiae furori similis impetus ab illus-

---

[6] L. Cornelius Lentulus Crus, Consul in 49, supported by two other Lentuli, prosecuted Clodius in 61 (the Bona Dea scandal) unsuccessfully. Nothing else is known of the later reversal of roles.

[7] L. Caninius Gallus, Tribune in 56 (or possibly his son, Consul

So deserving of approval did Cicero's action appear that even his sworn enemy P. Pulcher did not scruple to imitate it. Accused of profanation by three Lentuli, he protected one of them on a bribery charge with his advocacy and brought himself to act as Lentulus' friend, with the jury and the Praetor and the temple of Vesta before his eyes, among which Lentulus had made a hostile speech seeking to overwhelm his civic existence with a foul accusation.[6]

Caninius Gallus acted admirably both as defendant and prosecutor, on the one hand by marrying the daughter of C. Antonius, whom he had convicted, on the other by making M. Colonius, who had convicted him, his agent-in-charge.[7]

Caelius Rufus' own life was corrupt, but the pity he showed to Q. Pompeius is commendable. He had struck him down in a public trial,[8] but when Pompeius' mother Cornelia did not hand over properties left for him by will and he begged Caelius' help by letter, Caelius supported him in his absence most staunchly. He even read out Pompeius' letter in court telling of his desperate need, and thus frustrated Cornelia's unnatural avarice. A remarkably good-natured act, not to be spurned even though its author was Caelius.

3. OF ABSTINENCE AND CONTINENCE

With much care and special zeal must we relate how effectively the onsets of lust and greed, resembling madness, have been repelled by good sense and reason from the

in 37), prosecuted C. Antonius in 59. Nothing else is known of Colonius. [8] In 51: see Caelius' letter in Cic. *Fam.* 8.1.4.

trium virorum pectoribus consilio ac ratione summoti sint, quia ii demum penates, ea civitas, id regnum aeterno in gradu facile steterit ubi minimum virium veneris pecuniaeque cupido sibi vindicaverit: nam quo istae generis humani certissimae pestes penetrarunt, iniuria dominatur, infamia flagrat, vis habitat, bella gignuntur. faventibus igitur linguis[26] contrarios his tam diris vitiis mores commemoremus.

1 Quartum et vicesimum annum agens Scipio, cum in Hispania Carthagine oppressa maioris Carthaginis capiendae sumpsisset auspicia, multosque obsides, quos in ea urbe Poeni clausos habuerant, in suam potestatem redegisset, eximiae inter eos formae virginem aetatis adultae, et iuvenis et caelebs et victor, postquam comperit illustri loco inter Celtiberos natam nobilissimoque gentis eius Indibili desponsam, arcessitis parentibus et sponso inviolatam tradidit. aurum quoque, quod pro redemptione puellae allatum erat, summae dotis adiecit. qua continentia ac munificentia Indibilis obligatus Celtiberorum animos Romanis applicando meritis eius debitam gratiam rettulit.

2 Verum ut huius viri abstinentiae testis Hispania ita M. Catonis Epiros, Achaia, Cyclades insulae, maritima pars Asiae, provincia Cypros. unde cum pecuniae deportandae ministerium sustineret, tam aversum animum ab omni venere quam a lucro habuit, in maxima utriusque intemperantiae materia versatus: nam et regiae divitiae potestate ipsius continebantur et fertilissimae deliciarum tot

[26] vis ... linguis L: linguis AG

---

[1] 209: Livy 26.50 etc.

hearts of famous men. For a household or a community or a kingdom will hold its ground easily and for all time where and only where the desire for carnal pleasure and for money asserts for itself a minimum of strength. For where these most sure plagues of the human race have penetrated, injustice is master, infamy is flagrant, violence dwells, wars are engendered. Let us therefore, with propitious utterance, commemorate behaviour contrary to these dire vices.

When Scipio was in his twenty-fourth year he had captured Carthage in Spain and so taken auspices for the capture of the greater Carthage. He had brought many hostages into his power, whom the Carthaginians had kept shut up in the former city, among them a girl of adult age and exceptional beauty. Learning that she was born in an exalted station among the Celtiberi and betrothed to Indibilis, the noblest of that nation, Scipio, a young man, unmarried, and a victor, summoned her parents and fiancé and handed her over inviolate. He even added the gold which had been brought for the girl's ransom to the amount of her dowry. Bound by such continence and generosity, Indibilis attached the hearts of the Celtiberi to Rome and so made due repayment to his benefactor.[1]

Spain was witness to this great man's abstinence; to M. Cato's, Epirus, Achaea, the Cyclades islands, the coast of Asia, the province of Cyprus. Having a commission to bring money back from the last named to Rome, he kept his mind as averse from all sexual indulgence as from profit, in the midst of abundant material for both forms of intemperance. For the king's wealth lay in Cato's own power and so many cities of Greece and Asia fertile in

Graeciae ‹et Asiae›[27] urbes necessaria totius navigationis deverticula erant. atque id Munatius Rufus, Cypriacae expeditionis fidus comes, scriptis suis significat. cuius testimonium non amplector: proprio enim argumento laus ista nititur, quoniam ex eodem Naturae utero et continentia nata est et Cato.

3 Drusum etiam Germanicum, eximiam Claudiae familiae gloriam patriaeque rarum ornamentum et, quod super omnia est, operum suorum pro habitu aetatis magnitudine vitrico pariter ac fratri Augustis,[28] duobus rei publicae divinis oculis, mirifice respondentem, constitit usum veneris intra coniugis caritatem clausum tenuisse. Antonia quoque, femina‹e›[29] laudibus virilem familiae suae claritatem supergressa, amorem mariti egregia fide pensavit; quae post eius excessum, forma et aetate florens, c‹on›vi‹c›tum[30] socrus pro coniugio habuit, in eodemque toro alterius adulescentiae vigor exstinctus est, alterius viduitatis experientia consenuit. hoc cubiculum talibus experimentis summam imponat.

4 Deinceps et iis vacemus quorum animus aliquo in momento [ponendi][31] pecuniam numquam locavit.[32] Cn. Marcius, patriciae gentis adulescens, Anci regis clara progenies, cui Corioli Volscorum oppidum capti[33] cognomen adiecerunt, cum editis conspicuae fortitudinis operibus, a Postumo Cominio consule accurata oratione apud milites laudatus omnibus donis militaribus et agri centum iugeri-

[27] *add. SB* (*coll. 2.8.7*) [28] Augustis *Pighius*: -to AL: *del. Briscoe* [29] *add. SB* [30] convictum *Kempf*: cuitum* AL
[31] ponendi* *del. SB*1 [32] locavit *SB*1: vacavit* AL; Br
[33] capti *Kempf*: captivum AL: -tum A *corr.*

delights were necessary halts through the entire voyage. Munatius Rufus, a faithful companion of the Cyprian expedition, signifies that in his writings. I do not embrace his testimony, for this glory rests on its own proof: continence and Cato were born from the same womb of Nature.[2]

It was well known that Drusus Germanicus, the particular glory of the Claudian family, his country's rare ornament, and, best of all, one who by the grandeur of his achievements, in the perspective of his years, marvellously matched the Augusti, his stepfather and his brother, the two divine eyes of the commonwealth—that Drusus kept his sexual activity confined within his love for his wife. Antonia too, whose feminine merits surpassed the masculine fame of her family, balanced her husband's love with outstanding loyalty. After his death, in the flower of her age and beauty, she slept with her mother-in-law[3] in lieu of a husband.[4] In the same bed the vigour of youth was quenched for the one and the experience of widowhood turned to old age for the other. Let this bedroom set the finishing touch on such examples.

Next let us take time for those whose minds never attached importance to money. Cn. Marcius was a young man of patrician family, illustrious descendant of king Ancus. Corioli, a town of the Volscians, gave him his surname after its capture. Having performed feats of conspicuous gallantry he was praised before the army in a set speech by Consul Postumus Cominius and presented with every military award, and with a hundred *iugera* of land,

[2] 58–57: Vell 2.45.5, Plut. *Cat. min.* 36–38; cf. VM 4.1.14.
[3] Livia Augusta. Drusus died in 9 B.C.
[4] Cf. Joseph. *Ant. Iud.* 18.180.

bus et decem captivorum electione et totidem ornatis equis, centenario boum grege argentoque quantum sustinere valuisset donaretur, nihil ex his praeter unius hospitis captivi salutem equumque quo in acie uteretur accipere voluit. qua tam circumspecta animi moderatione nescias utrum maiore cum laude praemia elegerit an reiecerit.

5a M'. autem Curius, exactissima norma Romanae frugalitatis idemque fortitudinis perfectissimum[34] specimen, Samnitium legatis agresti se in scamno adsidentem foco eque ligneo catillo cenantem—quales epulas apparatus indicio est—spectandum praebuit. ille enim Samnitium divitias contempsit, Samnites eius paupertatem mirati sunt: nam cum ad eum magnum pondus auri publice missum attulissent, benignis verbis invitatus ut eo uti vellet vultum risu solvit et protinus 'supervacuae' inquit, 'ne dicam ineptae, legationis ministri, narrate Samnitibus M'. Curium malle locupletibus imperare quam ipsum fieri locupletem, atque istud ut pretiosum ita malo hominum excogitatum munus refertote, et mementote me nec acie vinci nec pecunia corrumpi posse.'

5b Idem, cum Italia Pyrrhum regem exegisset, nihil omnino ex praeda regia, qua exercitum urbemque ditaverat, attigit. decretis etiam a senatu septenis iugeribus agri populo, sibi autem quinquaginta, popularis adsignationis modum non excessit, parum idoneum rei publicae civem

[34] perfec- G: perspec- AL

---

[5] Dion. Hal. 6.94.1f., Plut. *Coriol.* 10, Auct. vir. ill. 19.1.

the choice of ten prisoners and as many horses with harness, a herd of a hundred oxen, and as much silver as he could carry. None of all this would he accept except the life of one prisoner, a guest-friend of his, and a horse to use in battle. With such well conceived moderation it is hard to say whether he chose or rejected his rewards with greater credit.[5]

M'. Curius was the consummate pattern of Roman frugality and at the same time a clearly established model of bravery. He showed himself to the gaze of Samnite envoys seated by the fire on a rustic stool eating out of a wooden dish—what kind of fare can be deduced from these concomitants. For he despised the riches of the Samnites, whereas the Samnites wondered at his poverty. When they brought him a great weight of gold sent by public authority and invited him in friendly terms to make use of it, he burst out laughing and said straight away: "Performers of an unnecessary mission, not to say a foolish one, tell the Samnites that M'. Curius had rather give orders to the rich than be rich himself. Take back this gift, costly no doubt but invented for the ill of mankind, and remember that I can neither be beaten in battle nor corrupted with money."[6]

The same, after driving king Pyrrhus out of Italy, touched nothing whatsoever of the royal booty with which he had enriched the army and city. For when the senate decreed seven *iugera* of land per head for the people and fifty for himself, he did not go beyond the limit of the general assignment, thinking that a citizen who was not satis-

[6] About 270: An endlessly repeated anecdote (Münzer); Cic. *Sen.* 55 etc.

existimans qui eo quod reliquis tribueretur contentus non esset.[35]

6a Idem sensit Fabricius Luscinus, honoribus et auctoritate omni civitate temporibus suis maior, censu par unicuique pauperrimo, qui a Samnitibus, quos universos in clientela habebat, decem milia aeris et quinque pondo argenti, totidem servos sibi missos in Samnium remisit, continentiae suae beneficio sine pecunia praedives, sine usu familiae abunde comitatus, quia locupletem illum faciebat non multa possidere sed modica desiderare. ergo domus eius quemadmodum aere et argento et mancipiis Samnitium vacua, ita gloria ex iis parta referta fuit.

6b Consentanea repudiatis donis Fabricii vota exstiterunt: legatus enim ad Pyrrhum profectus, cum apud eum Cineam Thessalum narrantem audisset quendam Athenis esse[36] clarum sapientia, suadentem ne quid aliud homines quam voluptatis causa facere vellent, pro monstro eam vocem accepit, continuoque Pyrrho et Samnitibus istam sapientiam deprecatus est. licet Athenae doctrina sua glorientur, vir tamen prudens Fabricii detestationem quam Epicuri malu<er>it[37] praecepta. quod eventus quoque indicavit: nam quae urbs[38] voluptati plurimum tribuit, imperium maximum amisit, quae labore delectata est, occupavit, et illa libertatem tueri non valuit, haec etiam donare potuit.

[35] esset ς: est AL
[36] *sic Kempf*: q- Atheniensem sed AL: esse q- Athenis P
[37] *add. Per.*
[38] nam quae urbs ς: namq. urbs cum A: namq. urbsq. L

fied with what was given to the rest was no fit member of the commonwealth.[7]

Fabricius Luscinus was of the same mind. In his day he excelled all the community in offices and authority, but in wealth he was on a par with the poorest. When the Samnites, all of whom were his clients, sent him ten thousand pieces of bronze and five pounds of silver and ten slaves, he sent them back to Samnium. In virtue of his continence he was a very wealthy man without money, abundantly attended without use of an establishment, because it was not large possessions that made him rich but moderate desires. So his house contained no bronze and silver and slaves of the Samnites but was full of glory gained from them.[8]

Fabricius' prayer fitted well with the spurned gifts. As an envoy to Pyrrhus[9] he heard in the king's dwelling Cineas of Thessaly relating that in Athens there was one celebrated for his wisdom who recommended that men should not choose to do anything except for the sake of pleasure. He took that saying as something monstrous and immediately prayed that such wisdom might come to Pyrrhus and the Samnites. Let Athens boast of her learning, a wise man will prefer Fabricius' execration to the precepts of Epicurus. The event so declared. For the city that gave first place to pleasure lost a great empire, whereas the city that delighted in hard work took it; the one was unable to protect freedom, the other could even make a gift of it.

7 Pliny *N.H.* 18.18 etc.
8 Gell. 1.14.
9 280: Cic. *Sen.* 43; Plut. *Pyrrh.* 20.

7 Curii et Fabricii Q. Tuberonem[39] cognomine Catum discipulum fuisse merito quis existimaverit. cui consulatum gerenti cum Aetolorum gens omnis usus vasa argentea magno pondere et exquisita arte fabricata per legatos misisset, qui superiore tempore gratulandi causa ad eum profecti rettulerant fictilia se in eius mensa vasa vidisse, monitos ne continentiae quasi paupertati succurrendum putarent cum suis sarcinis abire iussit. quam bene Aetolicis domestica praetulerat, si frugalitatis eius exemplum posterior aetas sequi voluisset! nunc quo ventum est? a servis impetrari vix potest ne eam supellectilem fastidiant qua tunc consul <u>ti[40] non erubuit.

8 At Perse[41] rege devicto Paullus, cum Macedonicis opibus veterem atque hereditariam urbis nostrae paupertatem eo usque satiasset ut illo tempore primum populus Romanus tributi praestandi onere se liberaret, penates suos nulla ex parte locupletiores fecit, praeclare secum actum existimans quod ex illa victoria alii pecuniam, ipse gloriam occupasset.

9 Atque huic animi eius iudicio Q. Fabius Gurges N. Fabius Pictor Q. Ogulnius subscripserunt. qui legati ad Ptolomaeum regem missi munera, quae ab eo privatim acceperant, in aerarium, et quidem prius quam ad senatum legationem referrent, detulerunt, scilicet de publico ministerio nihil cuiquam praeter laudem bene administrati officii accedere debere iudicantes. iam illud humanitatis

[39] Tuberonem AL: Aelium *coni. Briscoe*
[40] consul uti A *corr.*, G: -lti AL [41] Perse P: -seo AL

---

[10] Sex. Aelius Paetus Catus, Consul in 198, here as in Pliny *N.H.* 33.142 confused with Q. Aelius Tubero, who was on the staff

One might well think that Q. Tubero surnamed Catus[10] had been a pupil of Curius and Fabricius. When he was Consul the Aetolian nation sent him silver vessels for all purposes of great weight and exquisite workmanship by the hand of envoys who had gone to thank him earlier on and reported having seen vessels of clay on his table. He advised them that they should not suppose continence to need assistance like poverty and told them to go away along with their baggage. How right he was to prefer domestic articles to the Aetolian, if only later times had chosen to follow the example of his frugality! As it was, what have we come to? Slaves can hardly be induced not to despise crockery that a Consul did not blush to use then.

After defeating king Perses[11] Paullus satiated the ancient hereditary poverty of our city with the wealth of Macedonia so that the Roman people then for the first time freed itself from the burden of paying war tax. But he made his own house no whit the richer, thinking himself excellently done by in that others took money from that victory but he took the glory.[12]

To this view of his Q. Fabius Gurges, N. Fabius Pictor, and Q. Ogulnius subscribed. Sent as envoys to king Ptolemy, they put all the gifts they had received from him privately into the treasury, and that before they reported on their mission to the senate. Evidently they held that nobody should gain anything from public service except praise for duty well done. And now what follows shows the

of his father-in-law Aemilius Paullus in the Third Macedonian War. But apart from the name the story belongs to Catus.

[11] In 168.

[12] Polyb. 18.35.5, Cic. *Off.* 2.76 etc.

senatus et attentae maiorum disciplinae indicium est: data sunt enim legatis quae in aerarium reposuerant non solum patrum conscriptorum decreto sed etiam populi permissu; eaque leg<e d>ata[42] quaestores prompta unicuique distribuerunt. ita in iisdem Ptolomaei liberalitas, legatorum abstinentia, senatus ac populi aequitas debitam probabilis facti portionem obtinuit.

10 Fabiorum et Ogulnii continentiae Calpurnium Pisonem in consimili genere laudis aemulum fuisse res ipsa documento est. consul, gravi fugitivorum bello a se liberata Sicilia, eos quorum praecipua opera usus fuerat imperatorio more donis prosequebatur. inter quos filium suum, aliquot locis proeliatum fortissime, titulo trium librarum aureae coronae decoravit, praefatus non oportere a magistratu e publica pecunia erogari quod in ipsius domum rediturum esset, tantumque ponderis <auri>[43] se testamento adulescenti legaturum promisit, ut honorem publice a duce, pretium privatim a patre reciperet.

11 Age, si quis hoc saeculo vir illuster pellibus haedinis pro stragulis utatur, tribusque servis comitatus Hispaniam regat, et quingentorum assium sumptu transmarinam provinciam petat, eodem cibo eodemque vino quo nautae uti contentus sit, nonne miserabilis existimetur? atqui ista patientissime superior Cato toleravit, quia illum grata

[42] *sic Foertsch*: eaque (*A corr.*) legata A: (permissu)rum at quem legata L: atque legata* G: qua lege lata *coni. Briscoe*

[43] *add. SB*[3]

humanity of the senate and the strict discipline of our ancestors. For the envoys were given what they had deposited in the treasury not only by decree of the Conscript Fathers but by permission of the people. The Quaestors took out what had been granted by that law and distributed it to the several recipients. So in the same items Ptolemy's liberality, the envoys' abstinence, and the senate and people's fairness had their due share in a commendable action.[13]

The fact proves that Calpurnius Piso rivalled the continence of the Fabii and Ogulnius in a similar kind of creditable conduct. As Consul he freed Sicily from the grievous war of the runaway slaves and in the usual fashion of commanders-in-chief rewarded with gifts those who had rendered him outstanding service. Among these was his son, who had fought very gallantly in various actions. Piso decorated him with the title of a golden crown of three pounds weight, prefacing this by observing that a magistrate ought not to pay out of public funds something that would go into his own house. And he promised to leave the young man in his will an equivalent weight of gold, so that he would receive the honour publicly from his commander, the money privately from his father.[14]

And now, if in this day and age a celebrated person were to use goatskin coverlets and govern Spain accompanied by three slaves and go to an overseas province at a cost of five hundred asses and be content with the same food and the same wine as the sailors had, would he not be thought a sad fellow? And yet the elder Cato tolerated all this quite

[13] 273: Dion. Hal. 20.14 etc.
[14] 133: Pliny *N.H.* 33.38.

frugalitatis consuetudo in hoc genere vitae cum summa dulcedine continebat.

12 Multum a prisca continentia spatio annorum posterior Cato descendit utpote in civitate iam divite et lautitia gaudente natus. is tamen, cum bellis civilibus interesset, filium secum trahens, duodecim servos habuit, numero plures quam superior, temporum diversis moribus pauciores.

13 Exsultat animus maximorum virorum memoriam percurrens. Scipio Aemilianus, post duos inclitos consulatus totidemque [suae][44] praecipuae gloriae triumphos, septem servis sequentibus officio legationis functus est. et, puto, Carthaginis ac Numantiae spoliis comparare plures potuerat, nisi operum suorum ad se laudem, manubias ad patriam redundare maluisset. itaque, cum per socios et exteras gentes iter faceret, non mancipia eius sed victoriae enumerabantur, nec quantum auri et argenti sed quantum amplitudinis pondus secum ferret aestimabatur.

14a Continentia vero etiam in universae plebis animis saepenumero cognita est, sed abunde erit ex his duo exempla longe inter se distantium saeculorum rettulisse. Pyrrhus impetus sui terrore soluto ac iam Epiroticis armis languentibus, benivolentiam populi Romani mercari, quia virtutem debilitare nequiverat, cupiens, paene totum regiarum opum apparatum in urbem nostram transtulerat. ceterum cum et magni pretii et varii generis a legatis eius tam viro-

[44] *del. Per.*

---

[15] 195: Pliny *N.H.* 14.91 etc.
[16] 49: Plut. *Cat. min.* 9.

uncomplainingly because the frugal habits he loved kept him in this way of life which he thoroughly enjoyed.[15]

The younger Cato came down a long way from the old continence in space of years, born as he was in a now rich and luxury-loving community. All the same, when he took part in the civil wars bringing his son along with him, he had twelve slaves, a larger number than the elder but fewer with regard to the changed manners of the times.[16]

My mind leaps up as it runs through the memory of the greatest men. After two celebrated Consulships and as many outstandingly glorious triumphs[17] Scipio Aemilianus discharged the duty of an embassy with seven slaves in his train.[18] I suppose he could have acquired more with the spoils of Carthage and Numantia, had he not preferred that the glory of his achievements redound to him, but the booty to his country. And so, as he travelled through allies and foreign nations, his victories, not his servants, were counted, and the weight assessed, not of the gold and silver he carried with him, but of the greatness.

Often too continence has been found in the hearts of the entire populace, but it will suffice abundantly to relate two of these examples from periods far apart. When the terror of Pyrrhus' onset had been relaxed and the arms of Epirus were flagging, wishing to buy the Roman people's good will since he had been unable to weaken their valour, he transferred to our city almost the entire pomp of his royal wealth. His envoys carried from house to house gifts

[17] The second consulship and triumph (134 and 132) came after the embassy, which will have been between 140 and 138 (Broughton I.481 n.2).

[18] Five according to Polybius (see *RE* IV.1453.15).

rum quam feminarum apta usui munera circa domos ferrentur, nulla cuiquam dono ianua patuit, Tarentinaeque petulantiae animosus magis quam efficax defensor haud scio maiore cum gloria huius urbis moribus ‹an moenibus›[45] repulsus sit.

14b In illa quoque procella quam C. Marius et L. Cinna rei publicae inflixerant, abstinentia populi Romani mirifica conspecta est: nam cum a se proscriptorum penates vulgi manibus diripiendos obiecissent, inveniri nemo potuit qui civili luctu praedam peteret: unus enim quisque se ab his perinde ac si a sacris aedibus abstinuit. quae quidem tam misericors continentia plebis tacitum crudelium victorum convicium fuit.

ext. 1 Ac ne eiusdem laudis commemorationem externis invideamus, Pericles, Atheniensium princeps, cum tragoediarum scriptorem Sophoclea in praetura collegam haberet, et is publico officio una districtus pueri ingenui praetereuntis formam impensioribus verbis laudasset, intemperantiam eius increpans dixit praetoris non solum manus a pecuniae lucro sed etiam oculos a libidinoso aspectu continentes esse debere.

ext. 2 Sophocles autem aetate iam senior, cum ab eo quidam quaereret an etiam nunc rebus veneriis uteretur, 'di meliora!' inquit: 'libenter enim istinc tamquam ex aliqua furiosa profugi dominatione.'

ext. 3a Aeque abstinentis senectae Xenocraten fuisse accepi-

[45] m- an moenibus *Halm*: moribus moribus A: moribus LG: armis an moribus A *corr.*

---

[19] 279 (?): Varro *Vit. pop. Romani* Riposati 64, Livy 34.4.6 etc.

of great value and variety, apt for the use of either sex. But nobody's door opened to a present. The more courageous than effective champion of Tarentum's insolence was repulsed with perhaps greater glory to this city by her manners than by her walls.[19]

Also in the tempest which C. Marius and L. Cinna had brought down upon the commonwealth the abstinence of the Roman people came marvellously to view. For although they had offered the houses of those they proscribed for plunder at the hands of the common folk, nobody could be found to seek booty from the mourning of citizens. Everyone kept away from them as though from sacred edifices. Such compassionate continence of the public was a silent reproach to the cruel victors.[20]

EXTERNAL

Let us not grudge outsiders commemoration of the same virtue. Pericles, the Athenian leader, had the writer of tragedies Sophocles as his colleague on the board of generals. When they were together occupied in public duty, Sophocles praised in excessive terms the beauty of a freeborn boy who was passing by. Rebuking his lack of control, Pericles observed that not only should a general's hands be restrained from pecuniary gain but his eyes from lustful gazing.[21]

When Sophocles was an old man, somebody asked him whether he still had sex. "Heaven forbid," said he. "I escaped from that gladly as from some crazy master."[22]

We are told that Xenocrates' old age was equally abste-

[20] 87: Vell. 2.22.5. [21] 441–40: Cic. *Off.* 1.144 etc.
[22] Plato *Rep.* 329c, Cic. *Sen.* 47 etc.

mus. cuius opinionis non parva fides erit narratio quae sequetur. in pervigilio Phryne, nobile Athenis scortum, iuxta eum vino gravem accubuit, pignore cum quibusdam iuvenibus posito an temperantiam eius corrumpere posset. quam nec tactu nec sermone aspernatus, quoad voluerat in sinu suo moratam, propositi irritam dimisit. factum sapientia imbuti animi abstinens, sed meretriculae quoque dictum perquam facetum: deridentibus enim se adulescentibus, quod tam formosa tamque elegans poti senis animum illecebris pellicere non potuisset, pactumque victoriae pretium flagitantibus, de homine se cum iis, non de statua pignus posuisse respondit. potestne haec Xenocratis continentia a quoquam magis vere magisque proprie demonstrari quam ab ipsa meretricula expressa est?

ext. 3b Phryne pulchritudine sua nulla parte constantissimam eius abstinentiam labefecit: quid? rex Alexander divitiis quatere potuit? ab illo quoque statuam equidem aeque frustra temptatam putes. legatos ad eum cum aliquot talentis miserat. quos in Academiam perductos solito sibi—id est modico—apparatu et admodum parvulis copiis excepit. postero die interrogantibus cuinam adnumerari pecuniam vellet, 'quid? vos' inquit 'hesterna cena non intellexistis ea me non indigere?' ita rex philosophi amicitiam emere voluit, philosophus regi suam vendere noluit.

ext. 4a Alexander vero, cognomen invicti adsecutus, continentiam Diogenis cynici vincere non potuit. ad quem cum in sole sedentem accessisset, hortareturque ut si qua praesta-

---

[23] Diog. Laert. 4.7 etc.

[24] Cic. *Tusc.* 5.91 etc.

mious, and the following story will be no small argument in support of that opinion. Phryne, a celebrated courtesan in Athens, lay at an all-night revel by his side when he was heavy with wine, having made a wager with some young men that she would be able to seduce his temperance. He did not rebuff her either with touch or words, but let her stay in his arms as long as she wished and then let her go foiled of her purpose. An abstemious act of a mind steeped in wisdom, but the little whore's comment too was really amusing. For when the young men jeered at her because for all her beauty and chic she had not been able to cajole a drunken old man with her enticements and demanded the agreed price of their victory, she answered that she had made the bet with them about a man, not a statue. Can anyone put this continence on Xenocrates' part more truly and more aptly on view than the little whore expressed it herself?[23]

Phryne with her beauty made no impression on his resolute abstinence. What of king Alexander? Could he shake him with riches? One might think that he too tempted a statue and equally in vain. He had sent emissaries to Xenocrates with a number of talents. They were conducted into the Academy and were received with his customary—that is, with a modest—show and very scanty supplies. When they asked him the next day to whom he would like the money counted out, he replied, "Why, did you not understand from yesterday's dinner that I have no need of it?" So the king wanted to buy the philosopher's friendship, but the philosopher did not want to sell it to the king.[24]

Alexander had won the surname "undefeated" but he could not defeat the continence of Diogenes the Cynic. Alexander approached him as he sat in the sun and asked

ri sibi vellet indicaret, quemadmodum erat in crepidine collocatus, sordidae appellationis sed robustae vir constantiae[46] 'mox' inquit 'de ceteris, interim velim a sole mihi non obstes.' quibus verbis illa nimirum inhaesit sententia: Alexander Diogenen gradu suo divitiis pellere temptat, celerius <pulsurus>[47] Dareum armis.

ext. 4b Idem Syracusis, cum holera ei lavanti Aristippus dixisset 'si Dionysium adulari velles, ista non esses', 'immo' inquit, 'si tu ista esse velles, non adularere Dionysium.'

4. DE PAUPERTATE

praef. Maxima ornamenta esse matronis liberos apud Pomponium Rufum collectorum libro <. . .>[48] sic invenimus: Cornelia Gracchorum mater, cum Campana matrona apud illam hospita ornamenta sua, pulcherrima illius saeculi, ostenderet, traxit eam sermone dum e schola redirent liberi, et 'haec' inquit 'ornamenta sunt mea.' omnia nimirum habet qui nihil concupiscit, eo quidem certius quam <qui>[49] cuncta possidet, quia dominium rerum collabi solet, bonae mentis usurpatio nullum tristioris Fortunae recipit incursum. itaque quorsum attinet aut divitias in prima felicitatis parte aut paupertatem in ultimo miseriarum statu ponere, cum et illarum frons hilaris multis intus amaritudinibus sit referta et huius horridior aspectus solidis et certis bonis

[46] constantiae *SB*[1]: praest- A, L (-ium) [47] *add. SB*[1]

[48] librorum A *corr.*, LG: *numerum post* libro *fuisse putavit Kempf*

[49] *add.* A *corr.;* Br

---

[25] Cic. *Tusc.* 5.92 etc. [26] Not found elsewhere.

him, if there was anything he wanted, to name it. Just as he was, sitting on a step, a man of mean title but robust resolution, he answered, "Other things later, meanwhile I would thank you not to stand between me and the sun." In these words I suppose this sense was embedded: "Alexander tries to shift Diogenes with riches; he will sooner shift Darius with arms."[25]

The same in Syracuse was washing vegetables when Aristippus said to him, "If you would flatter Dionysius, you wouldn't be eating those." "On the contrary," said Diogenes, "if you would eat these, you wouldn't be flattering Dionysius."[26]

4. OF POVERTY

That children are a matron's best jewellery we find as follows in Pomponius Rufus, Book * of his "Miscellanies": Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi, had a Campanian matron as a guest in her house, who showed her jewellery, the finest in existence at that period. Cornelia kept her in talk until her children came home from school, and then said, "These are *my* jewels."[1] Surely he has everything who craves nothing, more certainly than one who possesses all things, because ownership of objects often collapses, whereas the possession of a good state of mind is not subject to any assault of unkind Fortune. So where is the sense of putting wealth as the prime factor in happiness or poverty as the last stage in misery? The cheerful face of the one is full of much inner bitterness, the rough

[1] This well-known story seems to be found only here, but Plut. *Phoc.* 19 has something similar.

abundet? quod melius personis quam verbis repraesentabitur.

1 Regio imperio propter nimiam Tarquinii superbiam finito, consulatus initium Valerius Publicola cum Iunio Bruto auspicatus est, idemque postea tres consulatus acceptissimos populo Romano gessit et plurimorum ac maximorum operum praetexto titulum imaginum suarum amplificavit, cum interim fastorum illud columen patrimonio ne ad exsequiarum quidem impensam sufficiente decessit, ideoque publica pecunia ductae sunt. non attinet ulteriore disputatione tanti viri paupertatem scrutari: abunde enim patet quid vivus possederit, cui mortuo lectus funebris et rogus defuit.

2 Quantae amplitudinis Menenium Agrippam fuisse arbitremur, quem senatus et plebs pacis inter se faciendae auctorem legit? quantae scilicet esse debuit arbiter publicae salutis. hic, nisi a populo collatis in capita sextantibus funeratus esset, ita pecuniae inops decessit ut sepulturae honore caruisset. verum idcirco perniciosa seditione dividua civitas manibus Agrippae in unum contrahi voluit quia eas pauperes quidem sed sanctas animadverterat. cuius ut superstitis nullum fuit quod in censum deferretur ita exstincti hodieque amplissimum est patrimonium Romana concordia.

3 In C. vero Fabricii et Q. Aemilii Papi, principum saeculi sui, domibus argentum fuisse confitear oportet: uterque enim patellam deorum ‹causa›[50] et salinum habuit, sed eo

[50] *add. SB*[1]

aspect of the other abounds in solid and certain blessings. That will be demonstrated by persons better than by words.

When the power of the kings was brought to an end by reason of Tarquin's inordinate arrogance, Valerius Publicola inaugurated the Consulship along with Junius Brutus. Later he held three Consulships greatly to the satisfaction of the Roman people and enlarged the record on his mask with honourable mention of many important achievements. And yet that crown of the Fasti died worth an amount which did not even cover his funeral expenses, and so it was celebrated at the public cost. No need to scrutinize the poverty of so great a man in further discussion. How much he owned in his lifetime who did not have a bier or a pyre when he died is more than plain.[2]

How great a figure was Menenius Agrippa, should we suppose, whom senate and people chose to make peace between them? As great, obviously, as the arbiter of public welfare ought to have been. But if he had not been buried by public contribution at one sextans per head (so short of money he died), he would have gone without the honour of a funeral. But the community divided by destructive strife chose to be reunited by Agrippa's hands because it saw that they were poor indeed, but clean. While he lived he had no patrimony to declare for census, but now that he is gone he has an ample one in Roman concord even to this day.[3]

I ought to confess that there was silver in the houses of C. Fabricius and Q. Aemilius Papus, the leading men of their epoch. Both had a dish for worship of the gods and a

[2] 503: Livy 2.16.7 etc.
[3] 493: Livy 2.33.11 etc. Cf. VM 8.9.1.

lautius Fabricius quod patellam suam corneo pediculo sustineri voluit. Papus quoque satis animose, qui cum hereditatis nomine ea accepisset, religionis causa abalienanda non putavit.

4 Illi etiam praedivites qui ab aratro arcessebantur ut consules fierent, voluptatis causa sterile atque aestuosissimum Pupiniae solum versabant, deliciarumque gratia vastissimas glebas plurimo cum sudore dissipabant? immo vero, quos pericula rei publicae imperatores adserebant, angustiae rei familiaris—quid cesso proprium nomen veritati reddere?—bubulcos fieri cogebant.

5 Atilium autem, qui ad eum arcessendum a senatu missi erant ad imperium populi Romani suscipiendum, semina spargentem viderunt. sed illae rustico opere attritae manus salutem publicam stabilierunt, ingentes hostium copias pessum dederunt, quaeque modo arantium boum iugum rexerant, triumphalis currus habenas retinuerunt, nec fuit iis rubori[51] eburneo scipione deposito agrestem stivam aratri repetere. potest pauperes consolari Atilius, sed multo magis docere locupletes quam non sit necessaria solidae laudis cupidini anxia divitiarum comparatio.

6 Eiusdem nominis et sanguinis Atilius Regulus, primi Punici belli qua gloria qua clades maxima, cum in Africa insolentissimae Carthaginis opes crebris victoriis contunderet, ac prorogatum sibi ob bene gestas res in proximum annum imperium cognosset, consulibus scripsit vilicum in agello, quem septem iugerum in Pupinia habebat, mor-

[51] rubori G: robur is AL (?)

---

[4] Pliny *N.H.* 33.153.

salt cellar, but Fabricius was the more luxurious because he had his dish rest on a base of horn. Papus too showed spirit: having got those things by inheritance, he thought they should for religion's sake not leave his possession.[4]

Those plutocrats too who were summoned from the plough to become Consuls, did they use to turn over the barren, scorched soil of Pupinia for pleasure, splitting huge clods with plenty of sweat because it tickled their fancy? No, it was their straitened means that forced these men, whom the perils of the commonwealth called to be generals, to become (why shrink from giving truth its proper name?) ploughmen.

Those who were sent by the senate to summon Atilius to take power over the Roman people saw him scattering seed. But those hands calloused by farm labour stabilized the public welfare, destroyed vast enemy forces. Recently they had guided a yoke of plough oxen, now they held the reins of a triumphal chariot. Nor were they ashamed to lay aside the ivory staff and go back to the rustic plough handle. Atilius can comfort the poor, but much more can he teach the rich how unnecessary is anxious procurement of wealth to the craving for solid glory.[5]

Atilius Regulus, of the same blood and name, at once the greatest glory and disaster of the First Punic War, was in Africa, beating down the power of insolent Carthage in frequent victories. When he learned that in recognition of his successes his command had been extended for another year, he wrote to the Consuls that the bailiff on the seven-*iugera* farm which he owned in Pupinia had died

[5] Cic. *Rosc. Am.* 50, Virg. *Aen.* 6.844 etc. On the identity problem see Broughton I.208 n.1.

tuum esse, occasionemque nanctum mercennarium amoto inde rustico instrumento discessisse, ideoque petere ut sibi successor mitteretur, ne deserto agro non esset unde uxor ac liberi sui alerentur. quae postquam senatus a consulibus accepit, et agrum Atilii ilico colendum locari, et alimenta coniugi eius ac liberis praeberi, resque quas amiserat redimi publice iussit. tanti aerario nostro virtutis Atilianae exemplum, quo omnis aetas Romana gloriabitur, stetit.

7 Aeque magna latifundia L. Quinctii Cincinnati fuerunt: septem enim iugera agri possedit ex hisque tria, quae pro amico ad aerarium obsignaverat, multae nomine amisit. poenam quoque pro filio Caesone, quod ad causam dicendam non occurrisset, huius agelli reditu solvit. et tamen ei quattuor iugera aranti non solum dignitas patris familiae constitit sed etiam dictatura delata est. anguste se habitare nunc putat cuius domus tantum patet quantum Cincinnati rura patuerunt.

8 Quid? Aelia familia quam locuples! sedecim eodem tempore Aelii fuerunt, quibus una domuncula erat eodem loci quo nunc sunt Mariana monumenta, et unus in agro Veiente fundus minus multos cultores desiderans quam dominos habebat, inque <circo>[52] Maximo et Flaminio spectaculi locus; quae quidem loca[53] ob virtutem publice donata possidebant.

9 Eadem gens nullum ante scripulum argenti habuit quam Paullus, Perse devicto, Q. Aelio Tuberoni, genero

[52] *add.* A *corr.*
[53] loca A *corr.*, G: locus AL

---

[6] 256: Livy *Per.* 18 etc.

and that a hired hand had seized the opportunity to take away the farm equipment and leave; he therefore asked that a successor be sent him, so that the land be not deserted and his wife and children left without support. Learning of this from the Consuls, the senate gave order that Atilius' land should at once be let out for cultivation, food provided for his wife and children, and the articles he had lost replaced at the public charge. Such was the cost to our treasury of the example of Atilius' worth, of which every period of Roman history shall boast.[6]

L. Quinctius Cincinnatus' domains were no less broad. He owned seven *iugera* of land, and of these he lost three, which he had registered with the treasury as security on behalf of a friend, in payment of a fine. Also he paid the penalty for his son Caeso's nonappearance to plead his case out of the returns of this little piece of land. And yet not only did his status as head of a household stand firm for him as he ploughed the four *iugera,* but the Dictatorship was conferred. Nowadays anyone whose house covers the same area as Cincinnatus' estate thinks he is living under cramped conditions.[7]

Consider the Aelian family. What wealth! There were sixteen Aelii living at the same time. They had one little house, where the monuments of Marius now stand, and one farm in the district of Veii, which needed fewer hands than it had owners, and spectators' places in the Circus Maximus and the Circus Flaminius. They owned those places by a public grant for valour.

The same clan did not possess a scruple of silver until Paullus after conquering Perses gave his son-in-law

[7] Livy 3.13.10, 26.8–12 etc.

suo, quinque pondo argenti ex praeda donaret: taceo enim quod princeps civitatis filiam ei nuptum dedit cuius pecunia tam ieiunos penates videbat. qui ipse quoque adeo inops decessit ut nisi fundus, quem unum reliquerat, venisset, unde uxor eius dotem reciperet non exstitisset. animi virorum et feminarum vigebant in civitate, eorumque bonis dignitatis aestimatio cunctis in rebus ponderabatur. haec imperia conciliabant, haec iungebant adfinitates, haec in foro, haec intra privatos parietes plurimum poterant: patriae enim rem unusquisque, non suam augere properabat, pauperque in divite quam dives in paupere imperio versari malebat. atque huic tam praeclaro proposito illa merces reddebatur, quod nihil eorum quae virtuti debentur emere pecunia licebat, inopiaeque illustrium virorum publice succurrebatur.

10 Itaque, cum secundo Punico bello Cn. Scipio ex Hispania senatui scripsisset, petens ut sibi successor mitteretur, quia filiam virginem adultae iam aetatis haberet neque ei sine se dos expediri posset, senatus, ne res publica bono duce careret, patris sibi partes desumpsit, consilioque uxoris ac propinquorum Scipionis constituta dote summam eius ex aerario erogavit ac puellam nuptum dedit. dotis modus †quadraginta†[54] milia aeris fuit, quo non solum humanitas patrum conscriptorum sed etiam habitus veterum patrimoniorum cognosci potest: namque adeo fue-

[54] xl(ta) AL: quattuor *SB*3

---

8 168: Pliny *N.H.* 33.142, Plut. *Aem. Paul.* 5.28.

Q. Aelius Tubero five pounds of silver out of the booty.[8] I say nothing of the fact that this leader of the community gave his daughter in marriage to a man whose house he saw to be so starved of money. He himself too died so poor that if the only landed property he left had not been sold there would have been no money for his wife to recover her dowry. The characters of men and women were respected in the community, and it was by the high quality of these that assessment of dignity was calculated in all matters. These qualities won magistracies, made family alliances, were most influential in the Forum and inside private walls. For everybody was eager to increase the country's wealth, not his own, and would sooner live a poor man in a rich empire than a rich man in a poor one. This noble attitude had its reward. None of the prizes due to merit could be bought with money and the public used to succour the penury of distinguished citizens.

And so in the Second Punic War, when Cn. Scipio wrote to the senate from Spain asking them to send him a successor because he had an unmarried daughter of adult age and a dowry could not be provided for her without him, the senate took on itself the father's role lest the commonwealth lose a good general. After settling on a dowry with the advice of Scipio's wife and kin, they paid the sum out of the treasury and gave the girl in marriage. The amount of the dowry was four (?) thousand asses, by which can be perceived not only the humanity of the Conscript Fathers but the size of ancient patrimonies.[9] So restricted were they that the dowry of ten thousand asses brought to her

[9] Sen. *N.Q.* 1.17.8 etc. The figure of 40,000 asses in the manuscripts cannot be right: see SB[3].

runt arta ut Tuccia[55] Caesonis filia maximam dotem ad virum decem milia aeris attulisse visa sit, et Megullia, quia cum quinquaginta milibus aeris mariti domum intravit, Dotatae cognomen invenerit. idem senatus Fabricii Luscini Scipionisque filias ab indotatis nuptiis liberalitate sua vindicavit, quoniam paternae hereditati praeter opimam gloriam nihil erat quod acceptum referrent.

11 M. autem Scaurus quantulam a patre hereditatem acceperit in primo libro eorum quos de vita sua tres scripsit[56] refert: ait enim sibi sex sola mancipia totumque censum quinque atque triginta milium nummum relictum. in hac ille pecunia futurus senatus princeps nutritus est spiritus.

Haec igitur exempla respicere, his acquiescere solaciis debemus, qui parvulos census nostros numquam querellis vacuos esse sinimus. nullum aut admodum parvi ponderis argentum, paucos servos, septem iugera aridae terrae, indigentia domesticae impensae funera, inopes dotum filias, sed egregios consulatus, mirificas dictaturas, innumerabiles triumphos cernimus. quid ergo modicam fortunam quasi praecipuum generis humani malum diurnis <atque nocturnis>[57] conviciis laceramus, quae ut non abundantibus ita fidis uberibus Publicolas Aemilios Fabricios Curios Scipiones Scauros hisque paria robora virtutis aluit? exsurgamus potius animis pecuniaeque aspectu debilitatos spiritus pristini temporis memoria recreemus: namque

[55] Tuccia P: Tac- AL [56] tres scripsit *Halm*: transc- AL
[57] *add. Madvig*

---

[10] Apul. *Apol.* 18. [11] The elder Africanus; cf. Sen. *Dial.* 12.12.6. But the story is false (*RE* IV.1592.51).

husband by Tuccia, Caeso's daughter, was considered very large and Megullia got the surname "Dowry girl" because she entered her husband's house with fifty thousand asses. The same senate by its liberality saved the daughters of Fabricius Luscinus[10] and Scipio[11] from dowerless marriages because their parental inheritance brought them nothing except abundant glory.

M. Scaurus tells us in the first of the three Books of his autobiography[12] how little he inherited from his father. He says he was left only six slaves and that the entire estate amounted to thirty-five thousand sesterces. Such was the money in which was reared the pride that would one day be Leader of the Senate.[13]

These therefore are the examples to which we who never stop bemoaning our meagre substance should look, these the consolations in which we should take comfort. We see a very small weight of silver or none at all, few slaves, seven *iugera* of parched land, funerals indigent in private expenditure, daughters without dowries—yes, but outstanding Consulships, marvellous Dictatorships, countless triumphs. Why then do we rail at a moderate fortune in our daily and nightly grumbles as if that were mankind's chief cross? Such a fortune suckled faithfully if not abundantly the Publicolae, Aemilii, Fabricii, Curii, Scipios, Scauri, and other pillars of virtue equal to these. Rather let our hearts rise up and let us refresh our spirits, enfeebled by gazing upon money, with the memory of the days of yore. For I swear it by Romulus' cottage[14] and the

12 Cic. *Brut.* 112, Tac. *Agr.* 1.3.
13 Cf. Auct. vir. ill. 72.1.
14 Cf. VM 2.8. praef.

per Romuli casam perque veteris Capitolii humilia tecta et aeternos Vestae focos, fictilibus etiam nunc vasis contentos, iuro nullas divitias talium virorum paupertati posse praeferri.

5. DE VERECUNDIA

praef. A qua tempestivus ad verecundiam transitus videtur: haec enim iustissimis[58] viris praecepit ut privatas facultates neglegerent, publicas quam amplissimas esse cuperent, digna cui perinde atque caelesti numini templa exstruantur araeque consecrentur, quia parens est omnis honesti consilii, tutela sollemnium officiorum, magistra innocentiae, cara proximis, accepta alienis, omni loco, omni tempore favorabilem prae se ferens vultum.

1 Sed ut a laudibus eius ad facta veniamus, a condita urbe usque ad Africanum et Ti. Longum consules promiscuus senatui et populo spectandorum ludorum locus erat. numquam tamen quisquam ex plebe ante patres conscriptos in theatro spectare sustinuit: adeo circumspecta civitatis nostrae verecundia fuit. quae quidem certissimum sui documentum etiam illo die exhibuit quo L. Flamininus extrema in parte theatri constitit, quia a M. Catone et L. Flacco censoribus ‹motus›[59] senatu fuerat, consulatus iam honore defunctus, frater etiam T. Flaminini, Macedoniae Philippique victoris: omnes enim transire eum in locum dignitati suae debitum coegerunt.

[58] istis summis *Kempf*

[59] motus senatu A *corr.*: senatu A: -tum LG; -tu motus ς

humble roofs of the ancient Capitol and Vesta's everlasting fire, content even today with utensils of clay: no riches can be preferred to the poverty of men like these.

5. OF MODESTY

From Poverty, the passage to Modesty seems timely. For she told the most just of men to neglect their private means while desiring the amplest for the public. She deserves that temples be erected and altars consecrated to her as to a celestial deity because she is the mother of every virtuous counsel, the guardian of regular duties, the teacher of innocence, dear to our nearest, acceptable to strangers, in every place and at every time bearing a welcome face.

But to come from her praises to her doings, from the foundation of the city to the Consulship of Africanus and Ti. Longus[1] places to watch the games were common to senate and people. Yet never did any commoner venture to view them in the theatre in front of the Conscript Fathers. So circumspect was the modesty of our community. It gave most certain proof of itself, among others, on the day when L. Flamininus stood in the furthest part of the theatre because he had been removed from the senate by Censors M. Cato and L. Flaccus,[2] though he had held the consular office and was the brother of T. Flamininus, victor over Macedonia and Philip. For all present compelled him to move to a place appropriate to his standing.[3]

[1] In 194.
[2] 184: cf. VM 2.9.3.
[3] Not found elsewhere.

2 Confregit rem publicam Terentius Varro Cannensis pugnae temerario ingressu. idem delatam ab universo senatu et populo dictaturam recipere non sustinendo pudore culpam maximae cladis redemit, effecitque ut acies deorum irae, modestia ipsius moribus imputaretur. itaque titulo imaginis eius speciosius non recepta dictatura quam aliorum gesta adscribi potest.

3 Nos autem ad praeclarum verecundiae opus transgrediamur. magna cum invidia Fortuna praetoriis comitiis Africani superioris filium Cn. Scipionem et scribam C. Cicereium in campum deduxerat, utque nimis impotens sermone vulgi carpebatur, quod tanti viri sanguinem clientelamque comitiali certamine confuderat. ceterum crimen eius in suam laudem Cicereius convertit: nam ut vidit omnibus se centuriis Scipioni anteferri, templo descendit abiectaque candida toga competitoris sui suffragatorem agere coepit, ut scilicet praeturam melius Africani memoriae concederet quam sibi vindicaret. neg<es>[60] maximum esse verecundiae pretium? Scipio tunc honorem adeptus est, sed Cicereio magis gratulati sunt.

4 Ac ne protinus comitiis abeamus, consulatum petens L. Crassus, cum omnium candidatorum more circum forum supplex populo ire cogeretur, numquam adduci potuit ut id praesente Q. Scaevola, gravissimo et sapientissimo viro, socero suo, faceret. itaque rogabat eum ut a se, dum ineptae rei inserviret, discederet, maiorem verecundiam

[60] neges *Halm*: nec* AL

---

[4] Cf. VM 3.4.4. [5] 175: cf. VM 3.5.1b. The praenomen Cn. should probably be L.

Terentius Varro shattered the commonwealth by rashly entering upon the battle of Cannae. By his sense of decency in not feeling able to accept the Dictatorship that was offered to him by the entire senate and people he made amends for his culpability in that great disaster, with the result that the battle was ascribed to the anger of the gods, his modesty to his own character. So the Dictatorship declined can be inscribed on the title of his mask to more handsome effect than can the same office administered be credited to others.[4]

Let us pass to a splendid act of modesty. Fortune was much blamed for bringing Cn. Scipio, son of Africanus the elder, and the scribe C. Cicereius onto the Campus at the praetorian elections. In the talk of the common folk she was criticized as too unconscionable in confounding the blood and the clientele of so great a man in an electoral contest. But Cicereius turned Fortune's reproach to his own credit. For seeing that he was ahead of Scipio in all the centuries, he came down from the platform and putting off his white gown began to canvass for his competitor, thus better yielding the Praetorship to Africanus' memory than if he had claimed it for himself. Could you deny that modesty has its great reward? Scipio gained the office on that occasion, but the congratulations went more to Cicereius.[5]

Not to leave elections just yet, when L. Crassus stood for the Consulship and was obliged to go round the Forum begging the people as was customary for all candidates, he could never be induced to do this in the presence of the very wise and the highly respected Q. Scaevola, his father-in-law. So he used to ask Scaevola to leave him while he lent himself to this foolish practice. He had more rever-

dignitatis eius quam candidae togae suae respectum agens.

5 Pompeius autem Magnus Pharsalica acie victus a Caesare, cum postero die Larisam intraret, oppidique illius universus populus obviam ei processisset, 'ite' inquit 'et istud officium praestate victori.' dicerem non dignus qui vinceretur, nisi a Caesare esset superatus; certe modestus in calamitate: nam quia dignitate sua uti iam non poterat, usus est verecundia.

6 Quam praecipuam in C. quoque Caesare fuisse et saepenumero apparuit et ultimus eius dies significavit: compluribus enim parricidarum violatus mucronibus, inter ipsum illud tempus quo divinus spiritus mortali discernebatur a corpore, ne tribus quidem et viginti vulneribus quin verecundiae obsequeretur absterreri potuit, si quidem utraque togam manu demisit, ut inferior pars corporis tecta collaberetur. in hunc modum non homines exspirant sed di immortales sedes suas repetunt.

ext. 1 Quod sequitur externis adnectam, quia ante gestum est quam Etruriae civitas daretur. excellentis in ea regione pulchritudinis adulescens nomine Spurinna, cum mira specie complurium feminarum illustrium sollicitaret oculos, ideoque viris ac parentibus earum se suspectum esse sentiret, oris decorem vulneribus confudit, deformitatemque sanctitatis suae fidem quam formam irritamentum alienae libidinis esse maluit.

ext. 2 Athenis quidam ultimae senectutis, cum spectatum ludos in theatrum venisset, eumque nemo e civibus sessum

---

[6] Cic. *De orat.* 1.112. Candidates wore white togas.

[7] 48: Lucan 7.712–25, Dio 42.2.3.

[8] Suet. *Iul.* 82.2. [9] Not found elsewhere.

ence for Scaevola's dignity than regard for his white gown.[6]

On the day after Pompeius Magnus was conquered by Caesar in the battle of Pharsalia, he came into Larisa and the whole population of the town turned out to meet him. "Go," said Pompey, "and pay your duty to the victor." I should say he did not deserve to be conquered had he not been defeated by Caesar. Certainly he behaved well in misfortune. Since he could no longer employ his dignity, he employed modesty.[7]

That C. Caesar too had this quality in no ordinary measure was often evident and the last day of his life showed it. Gashed by the blades of many traitors, at the very moment when his divine spirit was being separated from his mortal body, three and twenty wounds could not deter him from obedience to modesty. With both hands he let his gown fall so that the lower part of his body was covered as he collapsed.[8] In such a fashion men do not expire but immortal gods return to their abodes.

EXTERNAL

I shall attach the following item to external examples because it happened before citizenship was given to Etruria. An exceptionally handsome young man in that region named Spurinna attracted the eyes of many ladies of high station by his marvellous appearance. Feeling himself suspect on that account to their husbands and parents, he blurred the beauty of his face with wounds, preferring that ugliness prove his innocence rather than good looks excite the lust of strangers.[9]

When in Athens a very old man came into the theatre to watch the show and none of the citizens offered him a seat,

reciperet, ad Lacedaemoniorum legatos forte pervenit. qui hominis aetate moti canos eius et annos adsurgendi officio venerati sunt, sedemque ei inter ipsos honoratissimo loco dederunt. quod ubi fieri populus aspexit, maximo plausu alienae urbis verecundiam comprobavit. ferunt tunc unum e Lacedaemoniis dixisse 'ergo Athenienses quid sit rectum sciunt, sed id facere neglegunt.'

6. DE AMORE CONIUGALI

praef. A placido et leni adfectu ad aeque honestum verum aliquanto ardentiorem et concitatiorem pergam, legitimique amoris quasi quasdam imagines non sine maxima veneratione contemplandas lectoris oculis subiciam, valenter inter coniuges stabilitae fidei opera percurrens, ardua imitatu ceterum cognosci utilia, quia excellentissima animadvertenti ne mediocria quidem praestare rubori oportet esse.

1 Ti. Gracchus, anguibus domi suae mare ‹et›[61] femina apprehensis, certior factus ab haruspice mare[62] dimisso uxori eius, femina ipsi celerem obitum instare, salutarem coniugi potius quam sibi partem augurii secutus, marem necari, feminam dimitti iussit, sustinuitque in conspectu suo se ipsum interitu serpentis occidi. itaque Corneliam nescio utrum feliciorem dixerim quod talem virum habuerit an miseriorem quod amiserit. o te, Thessaliae rex Admete, crudelis et duri facti crimine sub magno iudice ‹posteritate›[63] damnatum, qui coniugis tuae fata pro tuis

[61] *add.* ς
[62] mare A *corr.*: arte LG
[63] *add. Watt*[4], *duce SB*[3] (terrarum orbe)

he chanced to come to some Spartan envoys. Moved by the man's age, they rose in respect for his white hair and years and gave him a seat among themselves in the most honourable place. Seeing it done, the people approved the modesty of an alien city with a hearty round of applause. They say that one of the Spartans then remarked: "So the Athenians know what's right but don't bother to do it."[10]

6. OF CONJUGAL LOVE

I shall proceed from a placid, gentle emotion to one equally honourable but somewhat more ardent and excited, and place before the reader's eyes certain portraits of lawful love not to be contemplated without the greatest reverence, running through deeds of firm-fixed fidelity between husband and wife, hard to imitate but useful in the knowledge. For even mediocre performance should be no matter for shame to one who perceives excellence.

A male and a female snake were caught in Ti. Gracchus' house. He was informed by a soothsayer that if the male were let go, his wife, and if the female, he himself would shortly die. Pursuant to that part of the prediction which made in favour of his wife rather than himself, he ordered the male to be killed and the female let go, thus letting himself be slaughtered in his own sight by the destruction of the snake.[1] So I know not whether to call Cornelia more happy in having such a husband or more unfortunate in losing him. Ah, Admetus king of Thessaly, found guilty before that great judge, posterity, of a cruel and callous deed! You allowed your wife's death to be substituted for

[10] Cic. *Sen.* 63. [1] Cic. *Div.* 1.36, 2.62 etc.

permutari passus es, eaque, ne tu exstinguerere, voluntario obitu consumpta lucem intueri potuisti! et certe parentum prius indulgentiam temptaveras.

2 Vilior Graccho iniquae Fortunae victima, quamvis senatorii vir ordinis, C. Plautius Numida, sed in consimili amore par exemplum: morte enim uxoris audita doloris impotens, pectus suum gladio percussit. interventu deinde domesticorum inceptum exsequi prohibitus colligatusque, ut primum occasio data est, scissis fasciis ac vulnere divulso constanti dextra spiritum luctus acerbitate permixtum ex ipsis praecordiis et visceribus hausit, tam violenta morte testatus quantum maritalis flammae illo pectore clausum habuisset.

3 Eiusdem ut nominis ita amoris quoque M. Plautius: nam cum imperio senatus classem sociorum sexaginta navium in Asiam reduceret Tarentumque appulisset atque ibi uxor eius Orestilla, quae illuc eum prosecuta fuerat, morbo pressa decessisset, funerata ea et in rogum imposita inter officium unguendi et osculandi stricto ferro incubuit. quem amici, sicut erat, togatum et calceatum corpori coniugis iunxerunt, ac deinde subiectis facibus utrumque una cremaverunt. quorum ibi factum sepulcrum est—Tarenti etiam nunc conspicitur—, quod vocatur *τῶν δύο φιλούντων*. nec dubito quin, si quis modo exstinctis sensus inest, Plautius et Orestilla fati consortione gestientes vultus tenebris intulerint. saneque, ubi idem et maximus et

---

[2] In Euripides' *Alcestis* Admetus' wife dies in his place after his parents had refused to do so.

[3] Not found elsewhere. Numida probably belongs towards the end of the second century.

your own and when she had perished by a voluntary end to save you from extinction you could look upon the light of day. And to be sure you had earlier made trial of your parents' affection.[2]

A meaner victim of unkind Fortune than Gracchus, though a man of senatorial rank, was C. Plautius Numida, but in similar love an equal example. When he heard of his wife's death, he could not bear his grief and stabbed himself in the breast. Then, prevented by his servants' interference from going through with his intention and bound up, he seized the first opportunity to tear off the bandages and pull open the wound, with resolute hand drawing his life-breath mingled with bitterness of mourning from around his heart and vitals. By so violent a death he testified how mighty a conjugal flame was hidden in that breast of his.[3]

The same name, the same love. M. Plautius[4] was bringing a fleet of allies, sixty ships, back to Asia by command of the senate and put in at Tarentum. There his wife Orestilla, who had followed him so far, fell sick and died. At her funeral, when she was placed on the pyre and during the ceremony of anointing and kissing, he fell on his drawn sword. His friends placed him beside his wife's body, just as he was, in gown and shoes, and then put torches below and cremated both together. Their tomb was made there and is even now seen in Tarentum and called "The two lovers' tomb." Nor do I doubt that if the dead have any consciousness Plautius and Orestilla brought to the shades countenances rejoicing in their shared fate. Surely where love is

[4] Identified by Münzer (*RE* Plautius 22) with M. Plautius Hypsaeus, a Legate of Sulla's in the eighties.

honestissimus amor est, aliquanto praestat morte iungi quam distrahi vita.

4 Consimilis adfectus Iuliae, C. Caesaris filiae, adnotatus est. quae cum aediliciis comitiis Pompeii Magni coniugis sui vestem cruore respersam e campo domum relatam vidisset, territa metu ne qua ei vis esset allata, exanimis concidit, partumque, quem utero conceptum habebat, subita animi consternatione et gravi dolore corporis eicere coacta est, magno quidem cum totius terrarum orbis detrimento, cuius tranquillitas tot civilium bellorum truculentissimo furore perturbata non esset si Caesaris et Pompeii concordia communis sanguinis vinculo constricta mansisset.

5 Tuos quoque castissimos ignes, Porcia M. Catonis filia, cuncta saecula debita admiratione prosequentur. quae cum apud Philippos victum et interemptum virum tuum Brutum cognosses, quia ferrum non dabatur, ardentes ore carbones haurire non dubitasti, muliebri spiritu virilem patris exitum imitata. sed nescio an hoc fortius, quod ille usitato, tu novo genere mortis absumpta es.

ext. 1 Sunt et alienigeni amores iusti obscuritate ignorantiae non obruti, e quibus paucos attigisse satis erit. gentis Cariae regina Artemisia virum suum Mausolum fato absumptum quantopere desideraverit leve est post conquisitorum omnis generis honorum monumentique usque ad septem miracula provecti magnificentiam argumentari: quid enim aut eos colligas aut de illo inclito tumulo lo-

---

[5] 55: Plut. *Pomp.* 53. She died in the following year giving birth to another child who died a few days later.

[6] 42: Plut. *Brut.* 53, *Cat. min.* 73 etc.

both at its greatest and most honourable, it is far better to be joined by death than separated by life.

A similar devotion was observed in C. Caesar's daughter Julia. At the aedilician elections she saw a piece of clothing belonging to her husband Pompeius Magnus which had been brought home from the Campus stained with blood. Terrified that some violence had been done to him, she collapsed unconscious and the sudden shock and severe bodily pain caused the child she had in her womb to miscarry, to the great misfortune of the whole world.[5] For its tranquillity would not have been disrupted by the savage madness of so many civil wars if concord between Caesar and Pompey had held, bound by a tie of common blood.

Your chaste fires too, Porcia M. Cato's daughter, all ages shall attend with the admiration they deserve. When you learned that your husband Brutus had been defeated and killed at Philippi, you did not hesitate to take burning coals into your mouth, steel being withheld, imitating your father's manly end with a woman's spirit. But perhaps more bravely than he, because Cato perished by a normal form of death, you by a novel one.[6]

EXTERNAL

There are also legitimate loves in other lands, not buried in the obscurity of ignorance. It will suffice to touch upon a few of them. It would be frivolous to argue how sorely Artemisia queen of Caria missed her dead husband Mausolus after the magnificence of the manifold honours she devised for him and the monument which rose to a place among the Seven Wonders. Why collect the former or speak of that famous tomb when she herself desired to

quare, cum ipsa Mausoli vivum ac spirans sepulcrum fieri concupierit eorum testimonio qui illam exstincti ossa potioni aspersa bibisse tradunt?

ext. 2 Hypsicratea quoque regina Mithridatem coniugem suum effusis caritatis habenis amavit, propter quem praecipuum formae suae decorem in habitum virilem convertere voluptatis loco habuit: tonsis enim capillis equo se et armis adsuefecit, quo facilius laboribus et periculis eius interesset. quin etiam victum a Cn. Pompeio per efferatas gentes fugientem animo pariter et corpore infatigabili secuta est. cuius tanta fides asperarum atque difficilium rerum Mithridati maximum solacium et iucundissimum lenimentum fuit: cum domo enim et penatibus vagari se credidit, uxore simul exsulante.

ext. 3 Verum quid Asiam, quid barbariae immensas solitudines, quid latebras Pontici sinus scrutor, cum splendidissimum totius Graeciae decus Lacedaemon praecipuum uxoriae fidei specimen nostris ostentet oculis, plurimis et maximis patriae suae laudibus admiratione facti comparandum?

Minyae, quorum origo ex inclito sociorum Iasonis numero Lemniorum in insula concepta per aliquot saeculorum vices stabili[64] in sede manserat, a Pelasgicis expulsi armis,[65] alienae opis indigentes excelsa Taygetorum montium iuga supplices occupaverunt. quos Spartana civitas respectu Tyndaridarum—namque in illo nobilis famae navigio destinatum sideribus par fratrum fulserat—de-

[64] stabili A *corr.* -lis AL

[65] armis A *corr.*: ranis L *corr.*: ramis G; Br

become a living and breathing sepulchre of Mausolus by the testimony of those who record that she drank a potion powdered with the dead man's bones.[7]

Queen Hypsicratea also in her love for her husband Mithridates gave rein to her affection. For his sake she considered it a pleasure to convert the outstanding beauty of her person to masculine style. For she cut her hair short and accustomed herself to a horse and weapons the more easily to partake of his toils and dangers. She even followed him as he fled through savage nations after his defeat by Cn. Pompeius, tireless in spirit as in body. Such loyalty on her part was a great consolation and a delightful solace to Mithridates in harsh and difficult circumstances. For he felt that he was wandering with house and household gods as his wife joined him in exile.[8]

But why do I scrutinize Asia, the vast empty tracts of barbary, the recesses of the Pontic Gulf, when the brightest ornament of all Greece, Lacedaemon, exhibits to our eyes an outstanding specimen of wifely loyalty, comparable in admiration of the act to the many great glories of its country?

The Minyae derived their origin, conceived in the island of Lemnos, from the famous band of Jason's companions. For several turns of the centuries they had stayed in their dwelling undisturbed. Then, when the Pelasgians drove them out by arms, in need of foreign help they occupied the lofty ridges of the Taygetan mountains as suppliants. The Spartan community out of respect for the Tyndaridae (for in that ship of noble fame the pair of brothers destined for the stars had once shone) brought

[7] 353: Gell. 10.18. [8] 65: Plut. *Pomp.* 32.

ductos inde legibus commodisque suis immiscuit. sed hoc tantum beneficium in iniuriam bene meritae urbis, regnum adfectantes, verterunt. igitur publicae custodiae inclusi capitali adservabantur supplicio. quod cum vetere instituto Lacedaemoniorum nocturno tempore passuri essent, coniuges eorum illustris ibi sanguinis, velut allocuturae perituros viros impetrato a custodibus aditu carcerem intraverunt, commutataque veste per simulationem doloris velatis capitibus eos abire passae sunt. hoc loco quid aliud adiecerim quam dignas fuisse quibus Minyae nuberent?

7. DE AMICITIA

praef. Contemplemur nunc amicitiae vinculum potens et praevalidum neque ulla ex parte sanguinis viribus inferius, hoc etiam certius et exploratius quod illud nascendi sors, fortuitum opus, hoc uniuscuiusque solido iudicio incohata voluntas contrahit. itaque celerius sine reprehensione propinquum aversere quam amicum, quia altera diremptio non[66] utique iniquitatis, altera utique levitatis crimini subiecta est: cum enim deserta sit futura vita hominis nullius amicitiae cincta praesidio, tam necessarium subsidium temere adsumi non debet, semel autem recte apprehensum sperni non convenit. sincerae vero fidei amici praecipue in adversis rebus cognoscuntur, in quibus quidquid praestatur totum a constanti benivolentia proficiscitur. felicitatis cultus maiore ex parte adulationi

[66] diremptio non *Kempf*: directione AL

them down from thence and gave them part in their lives and benefits. But this great kindness they turned to the injury of the city which had befriended them by attempting to set up a despotism. So they were put in public custody and kept for capital punishment. This according to the ancient practice of the Spartans they were to suffer at night. Their wives, of illustrious birth in Sparta, begged access from the guards as though to comfort their doomed husbands and once inside the prison let their husbands leave, having changed their clothes and with covered heads in simulation of grief. What else am I to add at this point except that they were worthy to be married by Minyae?[9]

7. OF FRIENDSHIP

Now let us look at the tie of friendship. Powerful it is and very strong, no whit inferior to the force of blood, even more reliable and safe in that the latter is contracted by the accident of birth, a work of chance, the former by will beginning in solid judgment. So one would more easily escape blame in turning away from a kinsman than from a friend, because the one severance is not necessarily open to the charge of injustice, whereas the other is necessarily open to that of levity. For since a man's life will be deserted if not surrounded by the protection of any friendship, so needful a recourse ought not to be rashly taken up, but once properly grasped, ought not to be spurned. Truly loyal friends are most recognized in time of trouble, when whatever is rendered proceeds entirely from steady good will. The cult of good fortune is paid more to adulation

[9] Herod. 4.145f., Plut. *Moral.* 247A–C.

quam caritati erogatur, certe suspectus est perinde ac plus semper petat quam impendat. accedit huc quod infractae fortunae homines magis amicorum studia desiderant vel praesidii vel solacii gratia: nam laeta quidem et prospera negotia, utpote cum divina suffragatione foveantur, humana minus indigent. tenacius igitur eorum nomina posteritatis memoria apprehendit qui adversa amicorum non deseruerunt quam qui prosperum vitae cursum comitati sunt. nemo de Sardanapalli familiaribus loquitur, Orestes Pylade paene amico quam Agamemnone notior est patre, si quidem illorum amicitia in consortione deliciarum et luxuriae contabuit, horum durae atque asperae condicionis sodalicium ipsarum miseriarum experimento enituit. sed quid externa attingo, cum domesticis prius liceat uti?

1 Inimicus patriae fuisse Ti. Gracchus existimatus est, nec immerito, quia potentiam suam saluti eius praetulerat. quam constantis tamen fidei amicum etiam in hoc tam pravo proposito C. Blossium Cumanum habuerit operae pretium est cognoscere. hostis iudicatus, ultimo supplicio adfectus, sepulturae honore spoliatus, benivolentia tamen eius non caruit: nam cum senatus Rupilio[67] et Laenati consulibus mandasset ut in eos qui cum Graccho consenserant more maiorum animadverterent, et ad Laelium, cuius consilio praecipue consules utebantur, pro se Blossius deprecatum venisset familiaritatisque excusatione uteretur, atque is dixisset 'quid si te Gracchus templo Iovis Optimi Maximi faces subdere iussisset? obsecuturusne illius voluntati propter istam, quam iactas, familiaritatem fuisti?', 'numquam istud' inquit 'Gracchus imperasset.'

[67] Rupilio *Pighius*: Ruti- ALP

than to affection; at any rate it is suspect as always seeking more than it spends. Furthermore, men of broken fortune are more in need of their friends' attentions whether for protection or consolation. Happy and prosperous affairs, being fostered by divine favour, do not so much require that of man. So the memory of posterity fastens rather on the names of those who did not forsake the adverse fortunes of their friends than of those who went along with life's prosperous course. Nobody talks of Sardanapallus' companions, whereas Orestes is almost better known because Pylades was his friend than because Agamemnon was his father. The friendship of the one sort rotted away in the sharing of pleasures and luxury, the comradeship of the other, being of hard and rough condition, shone by experience of the very miseries. But why do I touch on external instances when I can first use domestic ones?

Ti. Gracchus was considered to have been an enemy of his country, and rightly so, because he had put his own power ahead of her welfare. But how steadfastly loyal a friend he had even in this perverse design in C. Blossius of Cumae it is worth while to learn. Gracchus was judged a public enemy, punished with the ultimate penalty, deprived of the honour of burial, but he did not lose Blossius' good will. For when the senate had commissioned Consuls Rupilius and Laenas to punish Gracchus' fellow conspirators according to ancestral custom, Blossius came to Laelius, on whose counsel the Consuls especially relied, to ask pardon and pleaded the excuse of friendship. Laelius asked: "What if Gracchus had told you to set fire to the temple of Jupiter Best and Greatest? Would you have obeyed his wish because of the friendship you talk so much about?" Blossius answered: "Gracchus would never have

satis, immo etiam nimium: totius namque senatus consensu damnatos eius mores defendere ausus est. verum quod sequitur multo audacius multoque periculosius: compressus enim perseveranti interrogatione Laelii in eodem constantiae[68] gradu stetit, seque etiam hoc, si modo Gracchus adnuisset, facturum respondit. quis illum sceleratum putasset fuisse, si tacuisset? quis non etiam sapientem, si pro necessitate temporis locutus esset? at Blossius nec silentio honesto nec prudenti sermone salutem suam, ne qua ex parte infelicis amicitiae memoriam desereret, tueri voluit.

2 In eadem domo aeque robusta constantis amicitiae exempla oboriuntur: prostratis enim iam et perditis C. Gracchi consiliis rebusque, cum tota eius conspiratio late quaereretur, desertum omni auxilio duo tantum amici Pomponius et Laetorius ab infestis et undique ruentibus telis oppositu corporum suorum texerunt. quorum Pomponius, quo is facilius evaderet, concitatum sequentium agmen in porta Trigemina aliquamdiu acerrima pugna inhibuit nec vivus pelli potuit, sed multis confectus vulneribus transitum super cadaver suum iis, credo etiam post fata invitus, dedit. Laetorius autem in ponte Sublicio constitit et eum, donec Gracchus transiret, ardore spiritus sui saepsit, ac vi iam multitudinis obrutus converso in se gladio celeri saltu profundum Tiberis petiit, quamque in eo ponte caritatem toti patriae Horatius Cocles exhibuerat, unius amicitiae adiecta voluntaria morte praestitit. quam

[68] constantiae L: -nti AG

given such a command." Enough, or rather too much: he dared to defend Gracchus' character which a consensus of the entire senate had condemned. But what follows is far bolder and more dangerous. Pressed hard by Laelius' persistent questioning, he stood fast and firm, answering that he would have done even this at Gracchus' nod. Who would have thought him a scoundrel if he had held his tongue? Who even would not have thought him a man of sense if he had spoken to suit the necessity of the moment? But Blossius did not choose to protect his own life by honourable silence or prudent speech, for fear of deserting in any way the memory of an ill-starred friendship.[1]

Equally stout examples of faithful friendship meet us in the same house. When C. Gracchus was deserted and helpless, his designs and fortunes laid low in ruin and his whole conspiracy being hunted down at large, two friends only, Pomponius and Laetorius, protected him with their bodies from the weapons which rained against him from every direction. To facilitate his escape, Pomponius for some time held up the pell-mell throng of pursuers at the Gate of Three Arches, fighting desperately, nor could he be driven back alive; exhausted by many wounds, he gave them a passage over his corpse, unwillingly, I believe, even after death. As for Laetorius, he took his stand at the Pons Sublicius and barricaded it with his spirit's ardour until Gracchus crossed; finally, overwhelmed by force of numbers, he turned his sword against himself and with a rapid leap sought the depth of the Tiber. The love for all the fatherland which Horatius Cocles once showed at that bridge, Laetorius gave to a single friendship and added his

[1] 132: Cic. *Amic.* 37, Plut. *Ti. Gracch.* 20 etc.

bonos Gracchi, si aut patris aut materni avi sectam vitae ingredi voluissent, habere milites potuerant! quo enim impetu, qua perseverantia animi Blossius et Pomponius et Laetorius tropaea ac triumphos eorum adiuvissent, furiosi conatus tam strenui comites, sinistris quidem auspiciis amicitiae condicionem secuti, sed quo miseriora hoc certiora fideliter cultae [nobilitatis][69] exempla!

3 L. autem Reginus, si ad debitam publico ministerio sinceritatem exigatur, posteritatis convicio lacerandus, si amicitiae fido pignore aestimetur, in optimo laudabilis conscientiae portu relinquendus est: tribunus enim plebis Caepionem in carcerem coniectum, quod illius culpa exercitus noster a Cimbris et Teutonis videbatur deletus, veteris artaeque amicitiae memor publica custodia liberavit, nec hactenus amicum egisse contentus etiam fugae eius comes accessit. pro magnum et inexsuperabile tuum numen, Amicitia! cum ex altera parte res publica manum iniceret, ex altera tua illum dextera traheret, et illa ut sacrosanctus esse vellet exigeret, tu exsilium indiceres,—adeo blando uteris imperio—supplicium honori praetulit.

4 Admirabile hoc opus tuum, sed quod sequitur aliquanto laudabilius: recognosce enim quo usque Volumnii constantem erga amicum suum caritatem sine ulla rei

[69] *del. Madvig*

---

[2] 121: Vell. 2.6.6, Plut. *C. Gracch.* 16f. etc.

[3] Scipio Africanus the elder.

[4] 103: see Broughton I.563f. The version followed in VM

voluntary death.[2] What fine soldiers the Gracchi might have had if they had chosen to follow in the footsteps of their father or their maternal grandfather![3] With what energy, with what determination would Blossius and Pomponius and Laetorius, so vigorous companions of their mad enterprise, have assisted in their trophies and triumphs! Under sinister auspices they followed friendship as it came, examples of its faithful service, the more hapless the surer.

L. Reginus must be torn by the reproaches of posterity if he be judged by the canon of fidelity due to the public service; but if he be assessed according to faithful pledge of friendship, he must be left in the best of havens, a laudable conscience. As Tribune of the Plebs, mindful of an old and close friendship, he liberated from public custody Caepio, who had been thrown into prison because he was held to blame for the destruction of our army by the Cimbri and Teutones. And not content to play the friend so far, he also became Caepio's companion in exile. Ah Friendship, mighty and insuperable is your strange power! From one side the commonwealth laid its grasp upon him, from the other your right hand drew him. The commonwealth demanded that he choose to be inviolable, you (so gently you exercise your authority!) condemn him to exile. He chose the punishment before the office.[4]

An admirable work of yours, this; but what follows[5] is a good deal more praiseworthy. Recall how far you pushed Volumnius' steadfast affection for his friend without any

6.9.13, in which Caepio was executed in prison, is doubtless a fiction. Caepio's exile in Smyrna is confirmed by Cic. *Balb.* 28.

[5] Not found elsewhere.

publicae iniuria evexeris. qui ortus equestri loco, cum M.[70] Lucullum familiariter coluisset eumque M. Antonius, quia Bruti et Cassii partes secutus fuerat, interemisset, in magna fugiendi licentia exanimi amico adhaesit, huc usque in lacrimas et gemitus profusus ut nimia pietate causam sibi mortis arcesseret: nam propter praecipuam et perseverantem lamentationem ad Antonium pertractus est. cuius postquam in conspectu stetit, 'iube me' inquit, 'imperator, protinus ad Luculli corpus ductum occidi: neque enim absumpto illo superesse debeo, cum ei infelicis militiae auctor exstiterim.' quid hac fidelius benivolentia? mortem amici hostis odio levavit, vitam suam consilii crimine astrinxit, quoque illum miserabiliorem redderet, se fecit invisiorem. nec difficiles Antonii aures habuit, ductusque quo voluerat, dexteram Luculli avide osculatus, caput, quod abscisum iacebat, sublatum pectori suo applicavit, ac deinde demissam cervicem victori gladio praebuit. loquatur Graecia Thesea, nefandis Pirithoi amoribus subscribentem, Ditis se patris regnis commisisse: vani est istud narrare, stulti credere. mixtum cruorem amicorum et vulneribus innexa vulnera mortique inhaerentem mortem videre, haec sunt vera Romanae amicitiae indicia, illa gentis ad fingendum paratae monstro similia mendacia.

5 L. quoque Petronius huiusce laudis consortionem merito vindicat: paria enim in cultu amicitiae auso par gloriae

[70] L. *Drumann: deletum noluit Münzer RE XIII.419*

---

[6] Son of the famous L. Licinius Lucullus. His praenomen is not otherwise attested. If correct, it implies a previously deceased elder brother Lucius, since proven exceptions to the naming of an

harm to the public. Born in equestrian station, he cultivated M. Lucullus[6] and was on familiar terms with him. When M. Antonius put Lucullus to death because he had been a partisan of Brutus and Cassius, Volumnius, who was quite free to make his escape, stuck to his lifeless friend, weeping and groaning unrestrainedly, so that by excess of piety he brought upon himself the cause of his death. For on account of his exceptional and persistent lamentation he was dragged into Antony's presence. Standing in his sight, he said, "General, order me taken straight away to Lucullus' body and immediately killed. I ought not to go on living now that he has been taken off, since it seems I persuaded him into a luckless service." What more loyal than such good will? He relieved his dead friend of an enemy's hate, implicated his own life in the guilt of advice, and to awaken pity for Lucullus added to the hostility against himself. Antony heard him and made no difficulty. Led where he wished to go, he greedily kissed Lucullus' hand, picked up the head which lay severed and clasped it to his breast, then bent his neck to the victor's sword. Let Greece talk of Theseus, how he trusted himself to the realms of Father Dis in support of Pirithous' unlawful love,[7] a tale told by liars and believed by fools. To see mingled blood of friends, wounds clinging to wounds, death fastened upon death—these are the true tokens of Roman friendship, those the monstrous falsehoods of a nation prone to fabricate.

L. Petronius too rightfully claims a share in this credit. Daring equally in the cult of friendship, he is entitled to an

eldest son with father's praenomen are to seek (*pace* Münzer *RE* 13.419.11). [7] For Persephone.

portio adserenda est. admodum humili loco natus ad equestrem ordinem et splendidae militiae stipendia P. Coelii beneficio pervenerat. cui gratum animum, quia laeta in materia exhibere non contigerat, in ea quam iniquam Fortuna esse voluit cum multa fide praestitit. erat ab Octavio consule Placentiae praepositus Coelius. qua a Cinnano exercitu capta et senior iam et gravi valitudine adfectus, ne in potestatem hostium veniret, ad auxilium dexterae Petronii confugit. quem is ab incepto consilio frustra conatus abstrahere, in iisdem perseverantem precibus interemit, caedique eius suam iunxit, ne eo iacente, per quem omnia dignitatis incrementa adsecutus fuerat, superesset. ita alterius fato verecundia, alterius pietas causam praebuit.

6 Iungendus Petronio Ser. Terentius est, quamquam ei, sicut cupierat, pro amico suo perire non contigit: incepto namque egregio, non irrito eventu aestimari debet, quia, quantum in illo fuit, et ipse exstinctus est et D. Brutus periculum evasit mortis. qui fugiens a Mutina, ut ad se interficiendum ab Antonio missos equites advenisse cognovit, quodam in loco iustae poenae debitum spiritum tenebris furari conabatur, eoque iam facta irruptione Terentius fideli mendacio, obscuritate ipsa suffragante, Brutum se esse simulavit et corpus suum trucidandum equitibus obiecit. verum cognitus a Furio, cui Brutianae ultionis officium mandatum fuerat, nece sua amici suppli-

equal portion of glory. Born in a very humble station, he had advanced to equestrian rank and a distinguished military career thanks to P. Coelius. Not having the luck to display his gratitude in a happy context, he showed it most loyally in the harsh one which Fortune chose to provide. Coelius had been put in charge of Placentia by Consul Octavius. When the town was taken by Cinna's army, now an old man in bad health, he resorted to the aid of Petronius' right hand so as not to fall into the power of the enemy. Petronius tried in vain to turn him from his purpose, but when he persisted in his entreaties, killed him and to his slaughter joined his own, not wishing to survive the death of the man through whom he had gained every step of promotion. So a sense of shame caused the end of the one, piety of the other.[8]

Ser. Terentius must join Petronius, although it was not his fortune to die for his friend, as he had wished. He must be judged by his excellent intent, not by his failure, since, so far as depended upon him, he himself perished and D. Brutus escaped mortal danger. In his flight from Mutina Brutus learned that mounted men had come, sent by Antony to kill him. In a dark hiding place he tried to steal away the life he owed to just retribution, but they broke in. Terentius pretended to be Brutus, the dimness aiding his loyal falsehood, and offered his body to the riders to slaughter. But Furius, who had been given the office of vengeance upon Brutus, recognized him, so that he could not dispel his friend's punishment by his own death. So

[8] 87: Pliny *N.H.* 8.144, Aelian *Nat. Anim.* 7.10, Plut. *Moral.* 969C. See Münzer, *RE* Coelius 16 and Petronius 88.

cium discutere non potuit. sic invitus Fortuna cogente vixit.

7 Ab hoc horrido et tristi pertinacis amicitiae ad laetum et serenum vultum transeamus atque inde eam evocatam ubi omnia lacrimis gemitu caedibus fuerant referta in eo quo dignior est felicitatis domicilio collocemus, gratia honore abundantissimisque opibus fulgentem. orere igitur ab illa quae sanctorum umbris dicata esse creditur sede, hinc D. Laeli, illinc M. Agrippa, alter virorum, deorum alter maximum amicum et certa mente et secundis ominibus sortiti, totumque beatae turbae gregem, qui vestro ductu veneranda sincerae fidei stipendia laudibus et praemiis onustus peregit, in lucem vobiscum protrahite: vestros enim constantes animos, vestra strenua ministeria, vestram inexpugnabilem taciturnitatem proque dignitate et salute amicorum perpetuam excubationem et stationem[71] benivolentiae, et rursus harum rerum uberrimos fructus posterior intuens aetas in excolendo iure amicitiae qua libentius qua etiam religiosius erit operata.

ext. 1 Haeret animus in domesticis, sed aliena quoque bene facta referre Romanae urbis candor hortatur. Damon et Phintias, Pythagoricae prudentiae sacris initiati, tam fidelem inter se amicitiam iunxerunt[72] ut cum alterum ex iis

[71] et stationem *Madvig*: testa- AL [72] iunxerant G

---

[9] 43: accounts of D. Brutus' death vary in detail; see Münzer in *RE* suppl. V.384f. Terentius and Furius show up only here, unless there is a connection between the latter and a Celtic chieftain Camilos or Camelos (cf. (Furius) Camillus) with whom Brutus took refuge. "Mutina" is the author's error.

reluctantly he lived at Fortune's compulsion.[9]

From this grim and frowning face of steadfast Friendship let us pass to the joyous and serene. Let us recall her from scenes all full of tears and groans and killings and place her in a more fitting domicile of happiness where she shines with favour, honour, and abundant wealth. Arise ye then from the dwelling that is believed to be devoted to the shades of the righteous, on the one hand D. Laelius,[10] on the other M. Agrippa, who with sure hearts and favouring omens drew as your friends the greatest of men and the greatest of gods respectively; bring forth with you into the light the whole company of the happy throng, that under your leadership served through the august campaigns of true loyalty loaded with praises and rewards. Time to come will engage itself in cultivating the law of friendship more gladly and more religiously as it sees your constant hearts, your strenuous services, the inexpugnable discretion and unceasing vigilance and ward of your benevolence on behalf of the dignity and welfare of your friends, and again the bounteous requitals of these things.

EXTERNAL

My mind dwells on things domestic, but the candour of the Roman city impels me to relate the good deeds of externals as well. Damon and Phinthias, initiates in the rites of Pythagorean wisdom, had linked each other in faithful friendship. So much so that when Dionysius of Syracuse

[10] Both Africani had famous friendships with a C. Laelius. The false praenomen is probably an author's error, since two Laelii (Balbi) in the early Empire bore the comparatively rare praenomen Decimus, one of them (*RE* Laelius 16) a contemporary of Valerius.

Dionysius Syracusanus interficere vellet, atque is tempus ab eo, quo prius quam periret domum profectus res suas ordinaret, impetravisset, alter vadem se pro reditu eius tyranno dare non dubitaret. solutus erat periculo mortis qui modo gladio cervices subiectas habuerat: eidem caput suum subiecerat cui securo vivere licebat. igitur omnes et in primis Dionysius novae atque ancipitis rei exitum speculabantur. appropinquante deinde finita die nec illo redeunte, unusquisque stultitiae tam temerarium sponsorem damnabat. at is nihil se de amici constantia metuere praedicabat. eodem autem momento et hora a Dionysio constituta et qui eam[73] acceperat supervenit. admiratus amborum animum tyrannus supplicium fidei remisit, insuperque eos rogavit ut se in societatem amicitiae tertium sodalicii gradum intima[74] culturum benivolentia reciperent. hascine[75] vires amicitiae? mortis contemptum ingenerare, vitae dulcedinem exstinguere, crudelitatem mansuefacere, odium in amorem convertere, poenam beneficio pensare potuerunt. quibus paene tantum venerationis quantum deorum immortalium caerimoniis debetur: illis enim publica salus, his privata continetur, atque ut illarum aedes sacra domicilia, harum fida hominum pectora quasi quaedam sancto spiritu referta templa sunt.

ext. 2a Quod ita esse rex Alexander sensit. Darei castris, in quibus omnes necessarii eius erant, potitus, Hephaestione

[73] et qui eam *Briscoe:* qui eam qui AL: et eam qui *Madvig*

[74] intima *Pighius*: utuma L: ut una A *corr.*: ultima* G

[75] haecine A *corr., sed cf. Cic. Verr.* 2.5.62 *huncine hominem sqq.*

---

[11] This famous story (see *RE* IV.2074 and A. R. Dyck on Cic.

was about to execute one of them and acceded to his plea for time in which to go home and put his affairs in order before he died, the other did not hesitate to go surety to the tyrant for his return. He whose neck had just been subject to the sword was released from mortal danger; the other, who could have lived in safety, had subjected his head to that same sword. So all, and especially Dionysius, awaited the outcome of the novel and doubtful situation. Then, as the appointed day drew near and the absent one did not return, everyone found the rash sponsor guilty of folly; but he declared that he had no misgivings about his friend's constancy. At the same moment came the hour fixed by Dionysius and the person pledged to it. In admiration of both the tyrant remitted the punishment in tribute to fidelity, and further asked them to receive him to a share in their friendship, promising to cultivate a third place in the fellowship with close affection.[11] Has friendship such power? It could implant contempt of death, quench the sweetness of life, make cruelty merciful, convert hate to love, balance punishment with benefaction. To it is due almost as much reverence as to the rituals of the immortal gods: for public welfare depends on the latter, private on the former. As temples are the sacred domiciles of the one, so the loyal hearts of men are like shrines of the other, filled with a holy spirit.

That this is so king Alexander realised. Having possessed himself of Darius' camp,[12] in which were all those close to him, he went to console them, his favourite

Off. 3.45) goes back to the philosopher Aristoxenus, who heard it from Dionysius II himself in Corinth.

[12] After the battle of Issus (333): Diodor. 17.37.5, Curt. 3.12.15–17, Arr. *Anab.* 2, 12.6f.

gratissimo sibi latus suum tegente, ad eos alloquendos venit. cuius adventu mater Darei recreata humi prostratum caput erexit, Hephaestionemque, quia et[76] statura et forma praestabat, more Persarum adulata tamquam Alexandrum salutavit. admonita deinde erroris per summam trepidationem excusationis verba quaerebat. cui Alexander 'nihil est' inquit 'quod hoc nomine confundaris: nam et hic Alexander est.' utri prius gratulemur? qui hoc dicere voluit an cui audire contigit? maximi enim animi rex et iam totum terrarum orbem aut victoriis aut spe complexus tam paucis verbis se cum comite suo partitus est. o donum inclitae vocis danti pariter atque accipienti speciosum!

ext. 2b Quod privatim quoque merito veneror, clarissimi ac disertissimi viri promptissimam erga me benivolentiam expertus. nec metuo ne parum conveniat mihi Pompeium meum instar esse Alexandri, cum illi Hephaestio suus alter fuerit Alexander. ego vero gravissimo crimini sim obnoxius, constantis et benignae amicitiae exempla sine ulla eius mentione transgressus cuius in animo velut in parentum amantissimorum pectore laetior vitae meae status viguit, tristior acquievit, a quo omnium commodorum incrementa ultro oblata cepi, per quem tutior adversus casus steti, qui studia nostra ductu et auspiciis suis lucidiora et alacriora reddidit. itaque pavi invidiam quorundam optimi amici iactura, videlicet quia fructu torseram, non quidem meo merito, gratiam meam, quantacumque fuit,

[76] et L: et in AG

---

[13] See Introduction.

Hephaestion bearing him company. At his coming the mother of Darius revived, raised her prostrate head from the ground and saluted Hephaestion with homage in the Persian fashion, taking him for Alexander because in stature and appearance he had the advantage. Advised of her mistake, she cast about in the utmost trepidation for words of apology. "You have no need," said Alexander, "to be embarrassed on this account. He too is Alexander." Which of the two are we to congratulate first? Him who had the will to say this or him who had the good fortune to hear it? The magnanimous monarch, who had already embraced the entire globe by his victories or expectations, in so few words shared himself with his companion. Oh gift of famous utterance, honourable to the giver as to the receiver!

Privately too I reverence this with good reason, having experienced the readiest of benevolence toward me from a most illustrious and eloquent gentleman.[13] Nor am I afraid lest it be amiss for my friend Pompeius to be for me the like of Alexander, seeing that to him his friend Hephaestion was another Alexander. But I should be open to the gravest reproach if I passed through the examples of constant and affectionate friendship without any mention of Pompeius. In his mind as in the hearts of loving parents my life's happier condition thrived, its sadder found comfort. From him I received, freely presented, increase of every benefit, through him I stood less vulnerable against turns of Fortune. Under his leadership and auspices my studies became brighter and keener. And so I gratified the envy of some by the loss of the best of friends, because I had no doubt tormented them by my enjoyment of the friendship—not that I deserved this, since I always shared any interest I might have with those who wished to use it.

cum iis qui ea uti voluerunt partitus. verum nulla tam modesta felicitas est quae malignitatis dentes vitare possit. et quo secessu quosdam fugeris aut quibus infulis misericordiae permulseris ne alienis malis perinde ac bonis suis laetentur et gestiant? divites sunt aliorum iacturis, locupletes calamitatibus, immortales funeribus. sed illi quatenus alienis incommodis suorum adhuc expertes insultent optima vindex insolentiae varietas humanae condicionis viderit.

8. DE LIBERALITATE

1 Nostrum opus pio egressu ad proprium dolorem provectum in suum ordinem revocetur, liberalitatisque commemorationi vacemus. cuius duo sunt maxime probabiles fontes, verum iudicium et honesta benivolentia: nam cum ab his orietur, tunc demum ei ratio constat. dono autem ipsi gratiam et magnitudo quidem sua, sed efficaciorem aliquanto opportunitas conciliat: accedit enim pretio rei inaestimabile momentum occasionis.

Quae Fabio Maximo tot ante saecula parvam pecuniae summam erogatam ad hoc usque tempus laudabilem fecit. captivos ab Hannibale interposita pactione nummorum receperat. qui cum a senatu non praestarentur, misso in urbem filio fundum, quem unicum possidebat, vendidit eiusque pretium Hannibali protinus numeravit, si ad calculos revocetur, parvum, utpote septem iugeribus et hoc in Pupinia addictis redactum, si animo[77] p<utetu>r[78] erogantis, omni pecunia maius: se enim patrimonii quam patriam

[77] *intra cruces Briscoe*

[78] putetur er- *SB*[1]: pr(a)erogantis AL

But no good fortune is so modest that it can avoid the tooth of malignity. There are some who, no matter where you retire to escape them or with what emblems of supplication you soothe them, rejoice and exult in the afflictions of others as in their own blessings. They are rich by others' losses, well off by others' calamities, immortal by others' funerals. But how long they trample upon alien misfortunes without any of their own, let the mutability of the human condition, best chastener of arrogance, determine.

8. OF LIBERALITY

Let my work, which by a pious digression has advanced into my personal pain, be recalled to its sequence and let me take time to commemorate liberality. This has two eminently commendable sources, true judgment and honourable good will. For only when it proceeds from these does it justify itself. For the gift itself its own size wins gratitude, but timeliness makes gratitude considerably more effectual. For to the value of the item is added the incalculable force of its occasion.

Such has made a small sum of money paid out so many centuries ago by Fabius Maximus praiseworthy to this day. He had received back prisoners from Hannibal for an agreed ransom. When the senate did not come up with the money, he sent his son to Rome, sold the only farm he possessed, and immediately made over the proceeds to Hannibal. Numerically considered they were small, raised from the sale of seven *iugera,* in Pupinia at that; computed by the spirit of the payer, beyond all reckoning.[1] He pre-

[1] 217: Livy 22.23.5–8, Plut. *Fab.* 7; cf. VM 3.8.2.

fidei inopem esse maluit, eo quidem maiore cum commendatione quod proni studii certius indicium est supra vires niti quam viribus ex facili uti: alter enim quod potest praestat, alter plus etiam quam potest.

2 Itaque eiusdem temporis femina Busa nomine, regionis autem Apulae ditissima, merito quidem liberalitatis testimonium receperit, sed excellentes opes suas Fabianis rei familiaris angustiis non comparaverit: nam etsi circa decem milia civium nostrorum, Cannensis proelii reliquias, benignissime intra Canusina moenia alimentis sustentavit, salvo tamen statu fortunarum suarum munificam se populo Romano praestitit: Fabius in honorem patriae paupertatem inopia mutavit.

3 In Q. quoque Considio saluberrimi exempli nec [sine][79] parvo ipsius fructu liberalitas adnotata est. qui Catilinae furore ita consternata re publica ut ne a locupletibus quidem debitae pecuniae propter tumultum, pretiis possessionum deminutis, solvi creditoribus possent, cum centies atque quinquagies sestertii summam in faenore haberet, neque de sorte quemquam debitorum suorum neque de usura appellari a suis passus est, quantumque in ipso fuit, amaritudinem publicae confusionis privata tranquillitate mitigavit, opportune mirificeque testatus se nummorum suorum, non civilis sanguinis esse faeneratorem: nam qui nunc praecipue negotiatione delectantur cum pecuniam domum cruentam rettulerunt, quam improbando gaudio exsultent cognoscent, si diligenter sena-

[79] *del. SB*[1]

ferred that he himself should forfeit his patrimony rather than his country her credit; all the more laudably because striving beyond one's strength is a surer sign of willing engagement than using it with ease. The one gives what he can, the other even more than he can.

So let a woman of the same period, Busa by name, the richest in the region of Apulia, deservedly receive the testimony of her liberality, but let her not compare her preeminent resources with the straitened means of Fabius. True, she most generously sustained with nourishment some ten thousand of our countrymen, remnants of the battle of Cannae, inside the walls of Canusium, but her munificence to the Roman people did not jeopardise her own financial standing, whereas Fabius for the honour of his country exchanged poverty for destitution.[2]

In Q. Considius too was noted an act of liberality, setting a most wholesome example and with no small profit to himself. When the commonwealth was thrown into shock by Catiline's madness, so that even the rich could not pay their creditors the money they owed because property values had sunk in the upheaval, he would not let his agents call upon any of his debtors (he had fifteen million sesterces out on loan) either for principal or interest. So far as in him lay, he softened the bitterness of public turmoil by his private composure, in opportune and amazing attestation that he lent out his own money, not his countrymen's blood. Persons who nowadays chiefly delight in their business dealings when they bring bloodstained money home will see how reprehensible is the joy for which they leap if

[2] 216: Livy 22.52.7, 54.4.

tus consultum quo Considio gratiae actae sunt legere non fastidierint.

4 Queri mecum iam dudum populus Romanus videtur quod cum singulorum munificentiam consecter, de sua taceam: ad summam enim eius laudem pertinet quem animum regibus et urbibus et gentibus praestiterit recognosci, quod omne praeclari facti decus crebra memoria in se ipso revirescit. Asiam bello captam Attalo regi muneris loco possidendam tradidit, eo excelsius et speciosius urbi nostrae futurum imperium credens si ditissimam atque amoenissimam partem terrarum orbis in beneficio quam in fructu suo reponere maluisset. ipsa victoria donum felicius, quia multum occupasse invidiam habere potuit, tantum tribuisse gloria carere non potuit.

5 Illius vero Romanae liberalitatis caelestem spiritum nullae litterae satis dignis laudibus prosequentur: Philippo enim Macedoniae rege superato, cum ad Isthmicum spectaculum tota Graecia convenisset, T. Quinctius Flamininus tubae signo silentio facto per praeconem haec verba recitari iussit: 'senatus populusque Romanus et T. Quinctius Flamininus imperator omnes Graeciae urbes quae sub dicione Philippi regis fuerunt liberas atque immunes esse iubet.' quibus auditis, maximo et inopinato gaudio homines perculsi primo veluti non audisse se quae audierant credentes obticuerunt. iterata deinde pronuntiatione praeconis tanta caelum clamoris alacritate compleverunt ut certe constet aves quae supervolabant attonitas paven-

---

3 63/62: not otherwise reported, but cf. Cic. *Att.* 1.12.1.

4 188: Polyb. 21.24.7f. etc. The gift of territory was to king Eumenes II of Pergamus, not Attalus I; Cicero, *Sest.* 58, made the same mistake.

they do not disdain to give a careful reading to the senatorial decree thanking Considius.[3]

I think the Roman people has been expostulating with me this while because in seeking out the munificence of individuals I say nothing of theirs. For it is pertinent to their highest credit that the spirit they have shown to kings and cities and nations be reviewed, since all the glory of a fine action grows green again in itself by frequent remembrance. They handed over Asia, taken in war, into the possession of king Attalus[4] by way of gift, believing that empire for our city would gain in loftiness and splendour if they chose to make a benefaction rather than a profit to themselves out of the richest and most delightful part of the world. A gift more happy than the victory itself, since a major acquisition might have provoked envy, whereas so large a bounty could not fail of glory.

But no writing will attend with adequate encomiums the celestial spirit of the following example of Roman liberality. After the defeat of king Philip of Macedonia, all Greece gathered for the Isthmian spectacle. A trumpet call made silence, and through a herald T. Quinctius Flamininus ordered these words to be proclaimed: "The senate and people of Rome and T. Quinctius Flamininus, commander-in-chief, order that all Grecian cities formerly under the dominion of king Philip, be free and exempt from tax." Hearing these words, men were overcome with a mighty unlooked-for joy. At first they kept silent as though not believing their ears. Then, when the herald's pronouncement was repeated, they filled the heavens with so enthusiastic a shout that according to general and sure report birds flying overhead fell to the ground in stupefac-

tesque decidisse. magni animi fuisset a tot captivorum capitibus servitutem detraxisse quot tunc nobilissimis et opulentissimis urbibus populus Romanus libertatem largitus est.

Ad cuius maiestatem pertinet non solum quae ipse benigne tribuit, sed etiam quae alio tribuente sensit commemorari: ut enim illic commodatae[80] ita hic redditae ‹liberalitatis›[81] laudis commendatio est.

ext. 1 Hiero Syracusarum rex, audita clade qua Romani apud Trasumennum lacum erant adflicti, trecenta milia modium tritici et ducenta hordei aurique ducenta et quadraginta pondo urbi nostrae muneri misit. neque ignarus verecundiae maiorum nostrorum, ne aurum nollent accipere, in habitum id Victoriae formavit, ut eos religione motos munificentia sua uti cogeret, voluntate mittendi prius, iterum providentia cavendi ne remitteretur liberalis.

ext. 2 Subnectam huic Acragantinum Gillian, quem propemodum ipsius Liberalitatis praecordia constat habuisse. erat opibus excellens, sed multo etiam animo quam divitiis locupletior, semperque in eroganda potius quam in corripienda pecunia occupatus, adeo ut domus eius quasi quaedam munificentiae officina crederetur: illinc enim publicis usibus apta monumenta exstruebantur, illinc grata populi oculis spectacula edebantur, illinc epularum magnifici apparatus labentique annonae subsidia oriebantur. et cum

[80] commodatae *SB*[1]: commemoratae* AL: collatae A *corr.*
[81] *add. SB*[1] (*an pro* laudis *ponendum*?)

---

[5] 197: Polyb. 18.46 etc.
[6] 216: Livy 22.37.10–12.

tion and fear. It would have been a magnanimous gesture to have freed from slavery as many captive individuals as the famous and wealthy cities on which the Roman people on that occasion lavished liberty.[5]

To their majesty it is pertinent that not only the gifts which in their kindness they bestowed be commemorated but also those bestowed by another from which they profited. In the first case there is praise for the glory of liberality accorded, in the second for that of liberality repaid.

EXTERNAL

When Hiero king of Syracuse heard of the disaster which overtook the Romans at Lake Trasimene, he sent 300,000 pecks of wheat and 200,000 of barley and 240 pounds of gold to our city as a gift. Not being ignorant, however, of our ancestors' delicacy, lest they should refuse to accept the gold, he had it put into the shape of Victory, so that religious sentiment would force them to make use of his munificence. Liberal he was, first in the will to send the gift, and again in the foresight with which he took precautions against its being sent back.[6]

To him I shall append Gillias of Agrigentum, who is agreed to have almost had the heart of Liberality herself. His wealth was preeminent, but he was much richer even in mind than in fortune and always busied in disbursing money rather than in grasping it, so that his house was considered a kind of workshop of munificence. From thence monuments of public utility were erected, thence spectacles to please the eyes of the people were displayed, thence originated magnificently sumptuous banquets and succour when the price of corn shot up. These things were

haec universis, privatim alimenta inopia laborantibus, dotes virginibus paupertate pressis, subsidia detrimentorum incursu quassatis erogabantur. hospites quoque cum urbanis penatibus tum etiam rusticis tectis benignissime excepti, variis muneribus ornati dimittebantur. quodam vero tempore quingentos simul Gelensium equites vi tempestatis in possessiones suas compulsos aluit ac vestivit. quid multa? non mortalem aliquem sed propitiae Fortunae benignum esse diceres sinum. ergo quod Gillias possidebat omnium quasi commune patrimonium erat. pro cuius salute et incrementis cum Acragantina civitas tum etiam vicinae regiones votis excubabant. colloca e contraria parte arcas inexorabilibus claustris obseratas: nonne praestantiorem aliquanto existimes illam impensam quam hanc custodiam?

for the whole community. For individuals, aliment was given to the poverty stricken, dowries to girls labouring under lack of means, assistance to those staggered by sudden losses. Strangers too received generous hospitality in both his town and his country residences, and were sent on their way the richer with various gifts. On one occasion he fed and clothed five hundred Geloan horsemen at once, driven by a storm onto his land. In short one might have called him no mortal man but the kindly pouch of propitious Fortune. So Gillias' possessions were so to speak the common patrimony of all and for his welfare and aggrandisement not only the citizens of Agrigentum but the neighbouring regions too prayed through the nights. Place against this strongboxes barred with inexorable bolts. Would you not think Gillias' expenditure somewhat preferable to such safe custody?[7]

[7] Diodor. 13.83, Athen. 1.5.4a. Gillias (elsewhere Gellias or Telleas) will have flourished in the latter half of the fifth century (*RE* Gellias).

LIBER QUINTUS

1. DE HUMANITATE ET CLEMENTIA

praef. Liberalitatii quas aptiores comites quam humanitatem et clementiam dederim, quoniam idem genus laudis expetunt? quarum prima inopiae, proxima occasioni,[1] tertia ancipiti Fortunae[2] praestatur, cumque nescias quam maxime probes, eius tamen commendatio praecurrere videtur cui nomen ex ipso homine[3] quaesitum est.

1a Ante omnia autem humanissima et clementissima senatus acta referam. qui, cum Carthaginiensium legati ad captivos redimendos in urbem venissent, protinus iis, nulla pecunia accepta, reddidit iuvenes numerum duum milium et septingentorum quadraginta trium explentes, si vis verum.[4] tantum hostium exercitum dimissum, tantam pecuniam contemptam, tot Punicis iniuriis veniam datam! ipsos legatos obstipuisse arbitror ac secum dixisse 'o munificentiam gentis Romanae deorum benignitati aequandam! o etiam nostram legationem supra vota felicem! nam quod beneficium numquam dedissemus accepimus.'

[1] occasioni *SB*[1]: occupatione* (-ni L *corr.*) AL
[2] Fortunae *Madvig*: -na AL
[3] homine *Badius*: num- AL
[4] si vis verum *SB*: simis rerum* AL: *om.* P

BOOK V

1. OF HUMANITY AND MERCY

What more suitable companions should I give to liberality than humanity and mercy, since they seek the same kind of praise? The first is vouchsafed to poverty, the second to occasion, the third to perilous fortune; and though it is hard to say which should most be approved, yet commendation of that one whose name was taken from mankind itself seems to have precedence.

First of all I shall relate most humane and merciful actions of the senate. When Carthaginian envoys came to Rome to ransom prisoners,[1] they immediately gave them back the men without any money received to the number of 2,743, if you want the truth. So large an army of enemies let go, so large a sum of money despised, so many Punic injuries forgiven! I think the envoys themselves were thunderstruck and said to one another: "Oh munificence of the Roman nation to be matched with the benignity of the gods! And oh this mission of ours, successful beyond our prayers! We have received a benefaction which we would never have given."

[1] 201: In fact to make peace; cf. Livy 30.43.7f., from which Valerius' overblown rhetoric can be reduced to size.

1b Illud quoque non parvum humanitatis senatus indicium est: Syphacem enim, quondam opulentissimum Numidiae regem, captivum in custodia Tiburi mortuum publico funere censuit efferendum, ut vitae dono honorem sepulturae adiceret.

1c Consimilique clementia in Persa usus est: nam cum Albae, in quam custodiae causa relegatus erat, decessisset, quaestorem misit qui eum publico funere efferret, ne regias reliquias iacere inhonoratas pateretur.

1d Hostibus haec et miseris et fato functis officia regibus erogata, illa amicis et felicibus et vivis tributa sunt. confecto Macedonico bello Misacenes,[5] Masinissae filius, cum equitibus, quos in praesidium Romanorum adduxerat, ab imperatore Paullo ad patrem remissus, tempestate classe dispersa, Brundisium aeger delatus est. quod ubi senatus cognovit continuo illo quaestorem ire iussit, cuius cura et hospitium adulescenti expediretur et omnia quae ad valitudinem opus essent praeberentur, impensaeque liberaliter cum ipsi tum toti comitatui praestarentur, naves etiam ut prospicerentur, quibus se bene ac tuto cum suis in Africam traiceret. equitibus singulas libras argenti et quingenos sestertios dari imperavit. quae tam prompta et tam exquisita patrum conscriptorum humanitas efficere potuit ut etiamsi exspirasset adulescens, aequiore animo desiderium eius pater toleraret.

1e Idem senatus, cum ad gratulandum sibi Prusian, Bithyniae regem, Perse devicto venire audisset, obviam illi P.

[5] Misacenes *Briscoe*: Musachanes LG: Musophanes P

---

[2] 201: Livy 30.45. [3] About 165: Plut. *Aem. Paul.* 37 etc.
[4] 168: Livy 45.14.8f.

This too is no small token of the senate's humanity. They decreed that Syphax, once the very powerful king of Numidia, who died a captive in prison at Tibur, should be buried with a public funeral, thus adding the honour of sepulture to the gift of life.[2]

They showed similar clemency in Perses' case. When he died at Alba, where he had been consigned for safe custody, the Senate sent a Quaestor to bury him with a public funeral, not wishing to let the royal remains lie unhonoured.[3]

These offices were paid to enemies, to unfortunates, to the dead; the following were granted to friends, to the prosperous, to the living. After the conclusion of the Macedonian War Misacenes, son of Masinissa, was sent back to his father by general Paullus along with the horsemen whom he had brought to help the Romans. His fleet was scattered in a storm and he was carried to Brundisium a sick man. On learning of this the senate immediately ordered a Quaestor to go to the town and see to it that a lodging be found for the young man, everything needful for his health provided, and expenses liberally paid both for him and his whole following; also that ships be looked for to transport him and his men to Africa in comfort and safety. Each horseman was to be given a pound of silver and five hundred sesterces. After such humanity on the part of the Conscript Fathers, so ready and so meticulous, even if the young man had died, his father might more easily have borne his loss.[4]

The same senate after the defeat of Perses heard that Prusias king of Bithynia was on his way to offer them his congratulations. They despatched Quaestor P. Cornelius

Cornelium Scipionem quaestorem Capuam misit, censuitque ut ei domus Romae quam optima conduceretur, et copiae non solum ipsi sed etiam comitibus eius publice praeberentur, in eoque excipiendo tota urbs unius humani amici vultum habuit. itaque qui amantissimus nostri venerat, duplicata erga nos benivolentia in regnum suum reversus est.

1f Ne Aegyptus quidem Romanae humanitatis expers fuit. rex eius Ptolomaeus, a minore fratre regno spoliatus, petendi auxilii gratia cum paucis admodum servis, squalore obsitus, Romam venerat ac se in hospitium Alexandrini pictoris contulerat. id postquam senatui relatum est, accersito iuvene quam potuit accurata excusatione usus est, quod nec quaestorem illi more maiorum obviam misisset nec publico eum hospitio excepisset, eaque non sua neglegentia, sed ipsius subito et clandestino adventu facta dixit, et illum e curia protinus ad publicos penates deduxit, hortatusque est ut depositis sordibus adeundi ipsius diem peteret. quin etiam curae habuit ut ei munera[6] per quaestorem cotidie darentur. his gradibus officiorum iacentem ad regium fastigium erexit, effecitque ut plus spei in auxilio populi Romani quam metus in sua fortuna reponeret.

2 Atque ut ab universis patribus conscriptis ad singulos veniam, L. Cornelius consul primo Punico bello, cum Olbiam oppidum cepisset, pro quo fortissime dimicans Hanno dux Carthaginiensium occiderat, corpus eius e ta-

[6] ut ei munera *Kempf*: uti munere AL

---

[5] His praenomen was Lucius (Broughton I.433).

[6] Livy 45.44.4–21 etc. [7] This was Ptolemy VI Philometor, elder brother of Ptolemy VII Euergetes II.

Scipio[5] to Capua and decreed that a house be rented for the king in Rome, the best available, and provisions supplied at the public charge not only to him but to his following. For his reception the city wore the face of one kind friend. And so the king, who had come very fondly disposed to us, returned to his kingdom with good will redoubled.[6]

Nor was Egypt without experience of Roman humanity. Its king, Ptolemy,[7] who had been robbed of his throne by a younger brother, came to Rome for help with a very few slaves, shabby and down at heel, and took lodging at the house of an Alexandrian painter. When this was reported to the senate, they sent for the young man and offered excuses as elaborate as they could make them for not having sent a Quaestor to meet him according to traditional custom and not receiving him with public hospitality. This, they said, was not due to negligence on their part but to his own sudden and clandestine arrival. They then conducted him straight from the senate house to state quarters and encouraged him to put off his mean attire and ask for a day on which to approach their body. They even took care that presents should be made to him daily through a Quaestor. By these successive offices they raised him from the dust to the pinnacle of royalty and made him place more hope in the aid of the Roman people than fear in his own fortune.[8]

To come from the Conscript Fathers collectively to individuals among them, Consul L. Cornelius in the First Punic War[9] captured the town of Olbia, for which the Carthaginian commander Hanno had died fighting very

[8] Cf. Livy *Per.* 46, Diodor. 31.18 etc.

[9] Scipio in 259: Livy *Per.* 17, Sil. Ital. 6.671f. etc.

bernaculo suo amplo funere extulit, nec dubitavit hostis exsequias ipse celebrare, eam demum victoriam et apud deos et apud homines minimum invidiae habituram credens qu<ae qu>am[7] plurimum humanitatis habuisset.

3 Quid de Quinctio Crispino loquar, cuius mansuetudinem potentissimi adfectus, ira atque gloria, quatere non potuerunt? Badium Campanum et hospitio benignissime domi suae exceperat et adversa valitudine correptum attentissima cura recreaverat. a quo post illam nefariam Campanorum defectionem in acie ad pugnam provocatus, cum et viribus corporis et animi virtute aliquanto esset superior, monere ingratum quam vincere maluit: nam 'quid agis' inquit, 'demens, aut quo te prava cupiditas transversum rapit? parum habes publica impietate furere, nisi etiam privata lapsus fueris? unus videlicet tibi Romanorum Quinctius placet in quo scelesta[8] exerceas arma, cuius penatibus et honoris vicissitudinem et salutem tuam debes! at me foedus amicitiae dique hospitales, sancta nostro sanguini, vestris pectoribus vilia pignora, hostili certamine congredi tecum vetant. quin etiam, si in concursu exercituum fortuito umbonis mei impulsu prostratum agnovissem, applicatum iam cervicibus tuis mucronem revocassem. tuum ergo crimen sit hospitem occidere voluisse, meum non eris hospes occisus. proinde aliam qua occidas dexteram quaere, quoniam mea te servare didicit.' dedit utrique caeleste numen debitum exitum, si quidem in eo

[7] *add. Torr.*
[8] scelesta G: -te A *corr.*, LG

bravely. The Consul gave him a lavish funeral, carrying the body out from his own tent, and did not hesitate to attend in person the obsequies of an enemy. That victory, he believed, would inspire least ill will among both gods and men which had most of humanity about it.

What shall I say of Quinctius Crispinus, whose compassion those most powerful emotions, anger and desire for glory, could not shake? He had received Badius the Campanian very hospitably in his house and when he came down with a sickness saw most sedulously to his recovery. After the villainous defection of the Campanians, Badius in a battle challenged him to personal combat. But though considerably superior in strength of body and valour of spirit, he preferred to admonish the ingrate rather than overcome him. "What are you about, madman?" he said. "A perverse impulse is sweeping you off course, whither? Don't you find it enough to lose your wits in public betrayal unless you tumble into a private one as well? Quinctius, it seems, is the only Roman on whom you want to use your criminal weapons, Quinctius, to whose house you owe both the return of a courtesy and your life. As for me, the pact of friendship and the gods of hospitality, pledges sacred to our race but cheap to your Campanian hearts, forbid me to meet you in a hostile encounter. Yes, if I had recognised you on the ground, thrust down, as it might chance, by the boss of my shield as the armies clashed together, I would have recalled my blade even as it was at your neck. So yours be the guilt of wishing to kill your host; you will not be mine, a slain guest. So look for another hand at which to die, for mine has learned to save you." To each of the two celestial power gave the outcome he deserved. Badius was cut down in that battle, Quinctius

proelio Badius obtruncatus est, Quinctius insigni pugna clarus evasit.

4 Age, M. Marcelli clementia quam clarum quamque memorabile exemplum haberi debet! qui, captis ab se Syracusis, in arce earum constitit, ut urbis modo opulentissimae tunc adflictae fortunam ex alto cerneret. ceterum casum eius lugubrem intuens fletum cohibere non potuit. quem si quis ignarus vir<i>[9] aspexisset, alterius victoriam esse credidisset. itaque, Syracusana civitas, maxima clade tua aliquid admixtum gratulationis habuisti, quia si tibi incolumem stare fas non erat, leniter sub tam mansueto victore cecidisti.

5 Q. vero Metellus, Celtibericum in Hispania gerens bellum, cum urbem Centobrigam obsideret et iam admota machina partem muri quae sola convelli poterat disiecturus videretur, humanitatem propinquae victoriae praetulit: nam cum Rhoetogenis filios, qui ad eum transierat, Centobrigenses machinae ictibus obiecissent, ne pueri in conspectu patris crudeli genere mortis consumerentur, quamquam ipse Rhoetogenes negabat esse impedimento quominus etiam per exitum sanguinis sui expugnationem perageret, ab obsidione discessit. quo quidem tam clementi facto etsi non unius civitatis moenia, omnium tamen Celtiberarum urbium animos cepit, effecitque ut ad redigendas eas in dicionem populi Romani non multis sibi obsidionibus opus esset.

[9] *add. Lipsius* (*cf. 5.4.ext.6*)

---

[10] 212: Livy 25.18.4–15.
[11] 211: cf. Plut. *Marc.* 19.

fought with distinction and came out a hero.[10]

And now, how illustrious and memorable an example should the mercy of M. Marcellus be accounted! After taking Syracuse he established himself in the citadel, so that he could survey from aloft the condition of the city, once so powerful but then in affliction. But gazing on her sad fate, he could not check his tears.[11] If someone not knowing the man had seen him, he would have thought that the victory had been another's. And so, community of Syracuse, mingled with your dire calamity you had some cause for rejoicing, since if it was not your destiny to stand intact, your fall was soft under so compassionate a conqueror.

Q. Metellus,[12] while fighting the Celtiberian War in Spain, was besieging the city of Centobriga. He had already moved up an engine and seemed on the point of demolishing the only part of the wall that could be shattered; but he preferred humanity to the victory within his grasp. The Centobrigians had put the sons of Rhoetogenes, who had deserted to him, in the way of the batterings of the machine. Rather than let the boys die a cruel death before their father's eyes, although Rhoetogenes himself assured him that he was not hindering the completion of the assault even if it meant the destruction of his own flesh and blood, Metellus raised the siege. By so merciful an act he won, not the walls of a single community, but the hearts of all Celtiberian cities, with the result that he did not need many sieges to bring them under the dominion of the Roman people.

[12] Macedonicus (142); cf. VM 7.4.5. The anecdote is not found elsewhere, but cf. Flor. 1.33.10.

6 Africani quoque posterioris humanitas speciosa, lateque patuit: expugnata enim Carthagine circa civitates Siciliae litteras misit, ut ornamenta templorum suorum a Poenis rapta per legatos recuperarent inque pristinis sedibus reponenda curarent. beneficium dis pariter atque hominibus acceptum!

7 Huic facto par eiusdem viri <illa>[10] humanitas. a quaestore suo, hastae subiectos captivos vendente, puer eximiae formae et liberalis habitus missus est. de quo cum explorasset Numidam esse, orbum relictum a patre, educatum apud avunculum Masinissam, eo ignorante immaturam adversus Romanos ingressum militiam, et errori illius veniam dandam et amicitiae regis fidissimi populo Romano debitam venerationem tribuendam existimavit. itaque puerum, anulo fibulaque aurea et tunica laticlavia Hispanoque sagulo et ornato equo donatum, datis qui eum prosequerentur equitibus, ad Masinissam misit, eos victoriae maximos fructus ratus, dis ornamenta templorum,[11] hominibus [regibus][12] sanguinem suum restituere.

8 L. etiam Paulli in tali genere laudis memoria apprehendenda est. qui cum Persen parvi temporis momento captivum ex rege ad se adduci audisset, occurrit ei Romani imperii decoratus ornamentis, conatumque ad genua procumbere dextera manu allevavit et Graeco sermone ad spem exhortatus est. introductum etiam in tabernaculum lateri suo proximum in consilio sedere iussit, nec honore

[10] *add. Kempf*: *pro* viri *Briscoe*
[11] templorum ς: *ras.* AL: rerum* G
[12] *del. Per.*

---

[13] 146: Cic. *Verr.* 2.2.86f. etc. [14] 209: Livy 27.19.8–12.

The humanity of the younger Africanus too was splendidly and widely displayed. After Carthage had been stormed, he sent a circular letter to the communities of Sicily, telling them to recover through envoys the ornaments of their temples stolen by the Carthaginians and have them replaced in their old locations. A benefaction as welcome to the gods as to men![13]

Equal to this action was a piece of humanity on the part of the same personage. His Quaestor was auctioning prisoners under the spear and a very handsome boy of gentlemanly bearing was put up. Scipio found out that he was a Numidian, left an orphan by his father and brought up with his uncle Masinissa, and that without the latter's knowledge he had precociously taken service against Rome. He considered that the boy's error should be pardoned and due respect accorded to the friendship of a king most loyal to the Roman people. So he gave the boy a ring, a gold brooch, a tunic with the broad stripe, a Spanish cloak, and a horse with harness, and sent him to Masinissa with a mounted escort.[14] He thought that the greatest rewards of victory lay in returning temple ornaments to the gods and their kith and kin to men.

We must also catch hold of the memory of L. Paullus in such a category of credit. When he heard that Perses, a king one minute a prisoner the next, was being brought to his presence, he met him arrayed in the trappings of Roman authority. The king tried to fall at his knees, but Paullus raised him up with his right hand and speaking in Greek urged him not to despair. He even had the king ushered into his tent and told him to sit next to himself at his council, and thought him not unworthy of the honour

mensae indignum iudicavit. proponatur in conspicuo acies qua prostratus est Perses et harum rerum quas rettuli contextus: utro magis spectaculo delectentur homines dubitabunt; nam si egregium est hostem abicere, non minus tamen laudabile infelicis scire misereri.

9 Haec L. Paulli humanitas admonet me ne de Cn. Pompeii clementia taceam. regem Armeniae Tigranem, qui et per se magna cum populo Romano bella gesserat et infestissimum urbi nostrae Mithridatem Ponto pulsum viribus suis protexerat, in conspectu suo diutius iacere supplicem passus non est, sed benignis verbis recreatum diadema, quod abiecerat, capiti reponere iussit, certisque rebus imperatis in pristinum fortunae habitum restituit, aeque pulchrum esse iudicans et vincere reges et facere.

10 Quam praeclarum tributae humanitatis specimen Cn. Pompeius, quam miserabile desideratae idem evasit exemplum! nam qui Tigranis tempora insigni regio texerat, eius caput, tribus coronis triumphalibus spoliatum, in suo modo terrarum orbe nusquam sepulturae locum habuit, sed abscisum a corpore, inops rogi, nefarium Aegyptiae perfidiae munus portatum est,[13] etiam ipsi victori miserabile: ut enim id Caesar aspexit, oblitus hostis soceri vultum induit ac Pompeio cum proprias tum et filiae suae lacrimas reddidit, caput autem plurimis et pretiosissimis odoribus cremandum curavit. quod si non tam mansuetus animus divini principis exstitisset, paulo ante Romani imperii co-

[13] portatum est *intra cruces Briscoe*

---

[15] 168: Livy 45.7.4–8.8 etc.

[16] 66: Cic. *Sest.* 58, Plut. *Pomp.* 33 etc.

of his table.[15] Let the battle which prostrated Perses be placed in view on the one hand and on the other the sequence of what I have related; men will not know which of the two spectacles they enjoy more. For if it is a fine thing to cast an enemy down, it is no less laudable to know how to pity him in his misfortune.

This humanity on the part of L. Paullus reminds me not to omit to mention the clemency of Cn. Pompeius. Tigranes, king of Armenia, had waged major wars against the Roman people on his own and protected with his power a sworn enemy of our city, Mithridates, when he was driven out of Pontus. Pompey did not let him lie before his eyes in supplication for long, but revived him with kindly words, told him to put the diadem, which he had discarded, back on his head, and after giving orders on certain points restored him to his former state of fortune.[16] He thought it equally fine to conquer kings and to make them.

How illustrious an example of humanity accorded was Cn. Pompeius and how pitiable an example of humanity found lacking! The head of him who had covered Tigranes' temples with the emblem of royalty was despoiled of its three triumphal crowns and in the world which had lately been its own had nowhere a place of burial; severed from its body and lacking a pyre, it was carried as the wicked gift of Egyptian treachery, pitiable even to the victor. For when Caesar saw it, he forgot the role of enemy and put on the countenance of a father-in-law and gave tears to Pompey, his own and his daughter's too; and he had the head cremated with an abundance of the costliest perfumes. If the heart of the divine leader had not shown itself so gentle, he who a little while before had been looked

lumen habitum—sic mortalium negotia Fortuna versat—inhumatum iacuisset. Catonis quoque morte Caesar audita et se illius gloriae invidere et illum suae invidisse dixit, patrimoniumque eius liberis ipsius incolume servavit. et hercule divinorum Caesaris operum non parva pars Catonis salus fuisset.

11 M. etiam Antonii animus talis humanitatis intellectu non caruit: M. enim Bruti corpus liberto suo sepeliendum tradidit, quoque honoratius cremaretur, inici ei suum paludamentum iussit, iacentem hostem deposito aestimans odio; cumque interceptum a liberto paludamentum comperisset, ira percitus protinus in eum animadvertit, hac ante praefatione usus: 'quid? tu ignorasti cuius tibi viri sepulturam commisissem?' fortem piamque eius victoriam Philippi<i>[14] campi libenter viderunt, sed ne ista quidem generosissimae indignationis verba inviti audierunt.

ext. 1a Commemoratione Romani exempli in Macedoniam deductus, morum Alexandri praeconium facere cogor, cuius ut infinitam gloriam bellica virtus, ita praecipuum amorem clementia meruit. is, dum omnes gentes infatigabili cursu lustrat, quodam loci nivali tempestate oppressus senio iam confectum Macedonem militem nimio frigore obstupefactum, ipse sublimi et propinqua igni sede sedens, animadvertit, factaque non fortunae sed aetatis utriusque aestimatione descendit, et illis manibus quibus

[14] *add. Kempf*

---

[17] 48: cf. Livy *Per.* 112, Lucan 9.1032–1108.
[18] 46: Plut. *Cat. min.* 72, *Pomp.* 80.
[19] 42: Plut. *Ant.* 22, *Brut.* 53.

upon as the crown of Roman empire (so does Fortune turn the affairs of mortals) would have lain unburied.[17] Also when Caesar heard of the death of Cato he said that he grudged Cato his glory and that Cato had grudged Caesar his; and he kept Cato's patrimony intact for his children.[18] And indeed Cato's preservation would have made no small part of Caesar's superhuman achievements.

Nor was the mind of Mark Antony without understanding of such humanity. For he gave M. Brutus' body to a freedman of his own for burial and to make his cremation more honourable ordered that Brutus' general's cloak be spread over him, assessing his prostrate enemy with hatred laid aside. And learning that the cloak had been stolen by the freedman, he flew into a rage and punished him immediately, prefacing the act with these words: "What? Did you not know who it was whose burial I entrusted to you?" The plains of Philippi gladly beheld his brave and pious victory, but not loth did they hear those words of generous indignation.[19]

EXTERNAL

Led by the commemoration of a Roman example into Macedonia, I must needs celebrate the character of Alexander. As his valour in war earned him infinite glory, so did his clemency earn him surpassing love. As he traversed all nations in his indefatigable career, he was caught in a snowstorm in a certain locality and himself sitting on a raised seat near a fire observed a Macedonian soldier, worn out by old age, numbed by the excessive cold. Making his assessment not of the fortune but of the age of them both, he came down and with the hands with which he had

opes Darei adflixerat corpus frigore duplicatum in suam sedem imposuit: id ei salutare futurum <dicens>[15] quod apud Persas capital exstitisset, solium regium occupasse. quid ergo mirum est si sub eo duce tot annis militare iucundum ducebant cui gregarii militis incolumitas proprio fastigio carior erat?

ext. 1b Idem non hominum ulli sed Naturae Fortunaeque cedens, quamquam violentia morbi dilabebatur, in cubitum tamen erectus dexteram omnibus qui eam contingere vellent porrexit. quis autem illam osculari non curreret, quae iam fato oppressa maximi exercitus complexui humanitate quam spiritu vividior suffecit?

ext. 2a Non tam robusti generis humanitas, sed et ipsa tamen memoria prosequenda Pisistrati, Atheniensium tyranni, narrabitur. qui, cum adulescens quidam amore filiae eius virginis accensus in publico obviam sibi factam osculatus esset, hortante uxore ut ab eo capitale supplicium sumeret, respondit 'si eos qui nos amant interficiemus, quid iis faciemus quibus odio sumus?' minime digna vox cui adiciatur eam ex tyranni ore [de humanitate][16] manasse.

ext. 2b In hunc modum filiae iniuriam tulit, suam multo laudabilius. a Thrasippo amico inter cenam sine fine convicio laceratus, ita et animum et vocem ab ira cohibuit ut putares satellitem a tyranno male audire. abeuntem quoque, veritus ne propter metum maturius se convivio subtraheret, invitatione familiari coepit retinere. Thrasippus,

[15] *add.* A *corr.* [16] *om.* G

---

[20] 327: cf. Curt. 8.4.15.

[21] 323: Curt. 10.5.3; cf. Arr. *Anab.* 7.26.1.

[22] Diodor. 9.37.1, Plut. *Moral.* 189C, 457F.

crushed Darius' power he placed the body doubled up with cold on his own seat, remarking that what was a capital offence among the Persians, to have sat on the royal throne, would be salutary to him. So it is not surprising that men found it pleasant to serve for so many years under a commander who set more store by the survival of a common soldier than by his own high dignity.[20]

The same Alexander, yielding not to any human being but to Nature and Fortune, though he was falling apart from the violence of his sickness, raised himself up on his elbow and stretched out his right hand for all who wished to touch it. Who would not have run to kiss that hand, which already in death's grip sufficed for the embrace of a great army, more vital with humanity than with breath?[21]

Humanity of a character less robust but nonetheless deserving to be put on record on the part of the Athenian tyrant Pisistratus shall be related. When a young man fired by love for his unmarried daughter had kissed her as she came in his way in public, his wife urged Pisistratus to have him put to death, but he answered: "If we kill those who love us, what shall we do with those who hate us?" An utterance by no means fitting the rider that it came from the lips of a tyrant![22]

That was how he bore an insult to his daughter; one to himself he bore in a much more praiseworthy fashion. His friend Thrasippus lashed him with endless abuse during dinner. Pisistratus restrained his mind and his tongue from anger (you might have thought a courtier was being scolded by a tyrant), and as the man was on his way out, fearing that he was leaving the banquet early because he was afraid, he tried to hold him with a friendly invitation.

concitatae temulentiae impetu evectus, os eius sputo respersit, nec tamen in vindictam sui valuit accendere. ille vero etiam filios suos violatae patris maiestati subvenire cupientes retraxit. posteroque die Thrasippo supplicium a se voluntaria morte exigere volente, venit ad eum, dataque fide in eodem gradu amicitiae mansurum ab incepto revocavit. si nihil aliud dignum honore memoriae gessisset, his tamen factis abunde se posteritati commendasset.

ext. 3a Aeque mitis animus Pyrrhi regis. audierat quodam[17] in convivio Tarentinorum parum honoratum de se sermonem habitum: accersitos qui ei interfuerunt percontabatur an ea quae ad aures ipsius pervenerant dixissent. tum ex his unus 'nisi' inquit 'vinum nos defecisset, ista quae tibi relata sunt, prae iis quae de te locuturi eramus, lusus ac iocus fuissent.' tam urbana crapulae excusatio tamque simplex veritatis confessio iram regis convertit in risum. qua quidem clementia et moderatione adsecutus est ut et sobrii sibi Tarentini gratias agerent et ebrii bene precarentur.

ext. 3b Ab eadem altitudine humanitatis legatis Romanorum ad redimendos captivos castra sua petentibus, quo tutius venirent, Lyconem Molossum obviam misit, quo honoratius exciperentur, ipse cum ornatu ‹regio› equitum‹que comit›atu[18] extra portam occurrit, secundarum rerum proventu non corruptus ut officii prospectum in iis deponeret qui tum maxime armis cum eo dissidebant.

[17] quodam *Freinsheim*: quosdam* AL
[18] ornatu regio (P) *et seqq. Heller*: ornatu equitatum AL

---

[23] Sen. *De ira* 3.11.4.
[24] Quint. *Inst.* 6.3.10, Plut. *Pyrrh.* 8 etc.
[25] Not found elsewhere.

Thrasippus, overcome by an impulse of excitement and intoxication, spat full in his face, but even so could not rouse him to retaliate. On the contrary, he even held back his sons, who were eager to rally to their father's outraged dignity. The next day Thrasippus wanted to punish himself by committing suicide. Pisistratus came to him and turned him from his purpose, giving his word that he would remain on the same friendly footing.[23] If he had done nothing else worthy of the honour of memory, with these actions he would have abundantly commended himself to posterity.

Equally mild was the temper of king Pyrrhus. He had heard that he had been spoken of disrespectfully at a dinner in Tarentum. Summoning those who had been present, he asked whether they had said the things that had come to his ears. Then one of them said: "If our wine had not given out, these things that were reported to you would have seemed mere child's play compared to what we *would* have said about you." The witty excuse of intoxication and the guileless confession of the truth turned the king's anger into laughter. By that clemency and moderation he made the Tarentines thank him when sober and pray for him when drunk.[24]

From the same lofty level of humanity he sent Lyco the Molossian to meet Roman envoys who were coming to his camp to ransom prisoners, so that they should be safer on the road. And for their more honourable reception, he went himself in his royal attire with a mounted escort to welcome them outside the gate. Uncorrupted by favourable Fortune and success, he wished to pay regard to civility in the persons of those who at that very time were in arms against him.[25]

ext. 4 Cuius tam mitis ingenii debitum fructum ultimo fati sui tempore cepit: nam cum diris auspiciis Argivorum invasisset urbem, abscisumque eius caput Alcyoneus, Antigoni regis filius—propugnator enim laborantibus aderat,[19]—ad patrem[20] laetus velut aliquod felicissimum victoriae opus attulisset, Antigonus, correpto iuvene quod tanti viri subitae ruinae immemor humanorum casuum effuso gaudio insultaret, humo caput sublatum causea, qua velatum caput suum more Macedonum habebat, texit, corporique Pyrrhi redditum honoratissime cremandum curavit. quin etiam filium eius Helenum captivum ad se pertractum et cultum et animum regium gerere iussit, ossaque ei Pyrrhi aurea inclusa urna Epirum in patriam ad Alexandrum fratrem portanda dedit.

ext. 5 Campani autem exercitum nostrum, cum consulibus apud Caudinas furcas sub iugum a Samnitibus missum, nec inermem tantum sed etiam nudum urbem suam intrantem, perinde ac victorem et spolia hostium prae se ferentem venerabiliter exceperunt, protinusque consulibus insignia honoris, militibus vestem arma equos commeatum benignissime praestando et inopiam et deformitatem Romanae cladis mutarunt. quo animo si pro imperio nostro adversus Hannibalem quoque usi fuissent, truculentis securibus materiem saeviendi non praebuissent.

ext. 6 Facta mentione acerrimi hostis, mansuetudinis eius operibus, quam Romano nomini praestitit, locum qui inter

[19] *sic Madvig*: propugnatorem laborans laeterat* AL
[20] ad patrem *huc transt. SB*: *post* filius AL

---

[26] 273: Plut. *Pyrrh.* 34; cf. Justin 25.5.
[27] 321: Livy 9.6.4–7.

He reaped the due reward of so mild a disposition at the very end of his life. He had attacked the city of the Argives under evil auspices, and Alcyoneus, son of king Antigonus (for he was present, fighting for the embattled defenders), had taken his severed head to his father joyously, as though it had been the happiest of victorious achievements. Antigonus rebuked the young man for exulting unrestrainedly over the sudden fall of so great a personage, forgetful of the chances of human life. He took the head up from the ground, covered it with the broad-brimmed hat he was wearing on his own after the Macedonian fashion, replaced it on Pyrrhus' body, and had it cremated with all honours. And furthermore he had Pyrrhus' captive son Helenus brought to him and told him to dress and think like a king. Then he gave him Pyrrhus' bones in a golden urn to be taken to his brother Alexander in Epirus, his native land.[26]

When our army along with the Consuls was dismissed by the Samnites under the yoke at the Caudine Forks, the Campanians received it with respect as it entered their city not only unarmed but actually naked, like a victorious force carrying enemy spoils before it. At once they provided the Consuls with the emblems of their office and the soldiers with clothes, arms, horses, and supplies in the kindest fashion, and so transformed both the destitution and the ugliness of the Roman calamity.[27] If they had been of the same mind toward our empire in face of Hannibal, they would not have provided the savage axes with material for cruelty.

Now that I have mentioned our bitterest enemy, I shall end the topic I have in hand with acts of mercy that he rendered to the Roman name. For Hannibal made search

manus est finiam: Hannibal enim Aemilii Paulli apud Cannas trucidati quaesitum corpus, quantum in ipso fuit, inhumatum iacere passus non est. Hannibal Ti. Gracchum Lucanorum circumventum insidiis cum summo honore sepulturae mandavit, et ossa eius in patriam portanda militibus nostris tradidit. Hannibal M. Marcellum in agro Bruttio, dum conatus Poenorum cupidius quam consideratius speculatur, interemptum legitimo funere[21] extulit, Punicoque sagulo et corona donatum laurea rogo imposuit. ergo humanitatis dulcedo etiam in efferata barbarorum ingenia penetrat, torvosque et truces hostium mollit oculos ac victoriae insolentissimos spiritus flectit. nec illi arduum ac difficile est inter arma contraria inter destrictos comminus mucrones placidum iter reperire. vincit iram, prosternit odium, hostilemque sanguinem hostilibus lacrimis miscet. quae etiam Hannibalis admirabilem vocem pro funeribus Romanorum ducum arbitria statuentis expressit. . . .[22] quin[23] aliquanto ei plus gloriae Paullus et Gracchus et Marcellus sepulti quam oppressi attulerunt, si quidem illos Punico astu decepit, Romana mansuetudine honoravit. vos quoque, fortes ac piae umbrae, non paenitendas sortitae estis exsequias: nam ut optabilius in patria ita speciosius pro patria collapsae supremi officii decus infelicitate amissum virtute recuperastis.

[21] funere P: iurae L: iure A *corr.*, G
[22] *lacunam SB*[3]
[23] quin *Kempf*: quia AL

for the body of Aemilius Paullus, slain at Cannae, and so far as lay with himself did not let it lie unburied.[28] Hannibal gave a most honourable burial to Ti. Gracchus when he had been treacherously ambushed by the Lucanians and handed over his bones to our soldiers to be taken to his country.[29] Hannibal buried M. Marcellus with a regular funeral when he was slain in the Bruttian territory as he reconnoitered the activities of the Carthaginians with more eagerness than circumspection, and placed him on the pyre with the gift of a Punic cloak and a golden wreath.[30] Thus the charm of humanity finds its way even into the savage natures of barbarians, softening the grim, fierce eyes of foes and inclining the insolent pride of victory. Nor is it arduous and difficult for humanity to find a peaceful path amid opposing arms and blades drawn at close quarters. Humanity conquers anger, lays hatred low, and mingles enemy blood with enemy tears. She it was who drew from Hannibal an admirable utterance when he determined expenses for the burial of the Roman commanders *** because the burials of Paullus and Gracchus and Marcellus brought him considerably more glory than their killings: he tricked them with Punic guile, but honoured them with Roman mildness. Brave and pious shades, you too need find no fault with the obsequies that fell to your lot. You would have prayed to succumb *in* your country, but it was more glorious to die *for* her. The honour of the last rites, lost by evil fortune, you regained by valour.

[28] 216: Livy 22.52.6.
[29] 212: Livy 25.17.4–7, Diodor. 26.16.
[30] 208: Cic. *Sen.* 75, Livy 27.28.2 etc.

2. DE GRATIS

praef. Grati[24] vero animi significationes et ingrata facta libuit oculis subicere, ut vitio ac virtuti iusta merces aestimationis ipsa comparatione accederet. sed quoniam contrario proposito sese distinxerunt, nostro quoque stilo separentur, prioremque locum obtineant quae laudem quam quae reprehensionem merentur.

1a Atque ut a publicis actis ordiar, Marcium patriae <arma inferre>[25] conantem, admotoque portis urbis ingenti Volscorum exercitu funus ac tenebras Romano imperio minantem, Veturia mater et Volumnia uxor nefarium opus exsequi precibus suis passae non sunt. in quarum honorem senatus matronarum ordinem benignissimis decretis adornavit: sanxit namque ut feminis semita viri cederent, confessus plus salutis rei publicae in stola quam in armis fuisse, vetustisque aurium insignibus novum vittae discrimen adiecit. permisit quoque iis purpurea veste et aureis uti segmentis. super haec aedem et aram Fortunae Muliebri eo loco quo Coriolanus exoratus fuerat faciendam curavit, memorem beneficii animum suum exquisito religionis cultu testando.

1b Quem secundi etiam Punici belli tempore exhibuit: cum enim a Fulvio Capua obsideretur ac duae Campanae mulieres benivolentiam erga Romanos dimittere ex animis noluissent, Vestia Oppia mater familiae et Cluvia Facula meretrix, quarum altera cotidie pro salute exercitus nostri

[24] grati *Kempf*: -tas AL
[25] *add. Halm* patriae conantem *intra cruces Briscoe*

2. OF THE GRATEFUL

I have chosen to set in view signs of gratitude and acts of ingratitude so that due reward may accrue to vice and virtue through the very comparison of judgment. But since they have separated themselves by contrary intention, let them also be distinguished by my pen, and let those have priority that deserve praise rather than blame.

To begin with public proceedings, when Marcius was in train to bring arms against his country and had moved a huge army of Volscians to the city gates, threatening Roman empire with death and darkness, his mother Veturia and his wife Volumnia with their entreaties did not suffer him to carry out the wicked undertaking. In their honour the senate adorned the order of matrons with some most flattering decrees. It laid down that men should yield to women on the street, confessing that the commonwealth had been saved more by the matron's robe than by weapons, and to the ancient badges of ear ornaments it added the novel distinction of a fillet. It also permitted them to wear purple clothing and golden sequins. In addition it caused a temple and altar to be erected to Female Fortune in the place where Coriolanus had been won over, thus testifying its mindfulness of the benefaction by a carefully chosen religious cult.[1]

Such also it showed at the time of the Second Punic War. When Fulvius was besieging Capua, two women of Campania refused to dismiss from their minds their good will toward the Romans, Vestia Oppia, a housewife, and Cluvia Facula, a prostitute. The former sacrificed every

[1] Cf. VM 1.8.4.

sacrificavit, altera captis militibus Romanorum alimenta subministrare non destitit, urbe illa oppressa senatus iis et libertatem et bona restituit, et si quid amplius praemii petissent, libenter se daturum adseveravit. vacasse ‹in›[26] tanto gaudio patribus conscriptis duabus humillimis feminis referre gratiam, nedum tam prompte ‹ret›tulisse,[27] mirandum.

2 Quid illa quoque iuventute Romana gratius, quae Nautio et Minucio consulibus ultro nomina sua militari sacramento obtulit, ut Tusculanis, quorum fines Aequi occupaverant, praesidium ferrent, quia paucis ante mensibus constantissime et fortissime imperium populi Romani defenderant? ergo, quod auditu novum est, ne patriae grata voluntas cessasse videretur, exercitus se ipse conscripsit.[28]

3 Magnum grati populi specimen in Q. Fabio Maximo enituit: nam cum quinque consulatibus salutariter rei publicae administratis decessisset, certatim aes contulit, quo maior ac speciosior funeris eius pompa duceretur. elevet aliquis praemia virtutis, cum animadvertat fortes viros felicius sepeliri quam vivere ignavos.

4 Fabio autem etiam incolumi summa cum gloria gratia relata est. dictatori ei magister equitum Minucius scito plebis, quod numquam antea factum fuerat, aequatus par-

[26] *add.* ς [27] prompte retulisse *Torr.*: propter se tul(l)isse AL: propense *L corr.*

[28] conscripsit ς: combussit LG; conduxit A *corr.*

---

2 210: Livy 26.33.7–34.1.

3 458: Livy 3.26.1, 31.3, Dion. Hal. 10.43.

4 203: Plut. *Fab.* 27, Auct. vir. ill. 32.4.

day for the safety of our army, the latter never ceased to slip food to captured Roman soldiers. When the city was crushed, the senate restored their freedom and property and gave assurance that if they sought any further reward, it would gladly be granted. It is remarkable that the Conscript Fathers should have found leisure at a time of such rejoicing to repay two very humble women, let alone to do so with so hearty a will.[2]

What too could be a better example of gratitude than the manhood of Rome, who in the Consulship of Nautius and Minucius voluntarily put their names forward for the military oath in order to give aid to the people of Tusculum, whose borders had been occupied by the Aequi, because a few months previously the former had defended the empire of the Roman people most steadfastly and valiantly? So, something never heard of before, the army enrolled itself, lest their country's grateful will might seem to be lagging.[3]

A notable instance of a grateful people shone in the case of Q. Fabius Maximus. When he died, having administered public affairs to salutary effect in five Consulships, the people vied with one another to contribute money so that his funeral procession should be larger and better appointed.[4] Let him who will make light of rewards for valour when he sees that brave men are happier in their burials than cowards in their lives.

Gratitude was shown to Fabius with the highest glory even during his lifetime. Master of Horse Minucius had been placed on a level with him, the Dictator, by decree of the people, something never done before. The army

tito exercitu separatim in Samnio cum Hannibale conflixerat. ubi temere inito certamine pestiferum habiturus exitum, subsidio Fabii conservatus, et ipse eum patrem appellavit et ab legionibus suis patronum salutari voluit, ac deposito aequalis imperii iugo magisterium equitum, sicut par erat, dictaturae subiecit, imprudentisque vulgi errorem gratae mentis significatione correxit.

5 Tam hercule probabiliter quam Q. Terentius Culleo, praetoria familia natus et inter paucos senatorii ordinis splendidus, optimo exemplo Africani superioris currum triumphantis, quia captus a Carthaginiensibus ab eo fuerat recuperatus, pilleum capite gerens secutus est: auctori enim libertatis suae tamquam patrono accepti beneficii confessionem, spectante populo Romano, merito reddidit.

6 At Flaminini de Philippo rege triumphantis currum non unus sed duo milia civium Romanorum pilleata comitata sunt, quae is Punicis bellis intercepta et in Graecia servientia cura sua collecta in pristinum gradum restituerat. geminatum ita[29] decus imperatoris, a quo simul et devicti hostes et conservati cives spectaculum patriae praebuerunt. illorum quoque salus dupliciter omnibus accepta fuit, et quia tam multi et quia tam grati exoptatum libertatis statum recuperaverunt.

7 Metellus vero Pius, pertinaci erga exsulem patrem amore tam clarum lacrimis quam alii victoriis cognomen

[29] geminatum ita ς: geminū.r. ea A *corr.*: -narum ea L: -num ea* G; Br

---

5 217: Livy 22.25–30 etc.
6 201: Livy 30.45.5 etc.
7 194: Plut. *Flam.* 13 etc.

was divided into two and Minucius had separately clashed with Hannibal in Samnium. The engagement rashly begun would have ended in disaster, but he was saved by Fabius coming to the rescue. Minucius personally called him "father" and had his legions greet him as "patron." Putting down the yoke of equal command, he subordinated the Mastership of Horse to the Dictatorship, as was proper, correcting the error of an unwise populace by signifying gratitude.[5]

He behaved as commendably as Q. Terentius Culleo, born in a praetorian family and of distinction to be matched by few men of senatorial rank. He set an excellent precedent by following the triumphal car of the elder Africanus wearing a cap of liberty, because he had been taken prisoner by the Carthaginians and brought back by him. He very properly made acknowledgment before the Roman people of the benefaction he had received to the author of his freedom, as though to a former master.[6]

But the car of Flamininus when he triumphed over king Philip was accompanied not by one individual but by two thousand Roman citizens wearing caps of liberty. Captured in the Punic Wars and enslaved in Greece, Flamininus had been at pains to assemble them and had restored them to their former status. The general's glory was doubled thereby: enemies by him defeated and citizens by him conserved offered a spectacle to the fatherland. Their salvation too was doubly agreeable to all, both from their number and because they were so grateful for the longed-for recovery of their freedom.[7]

Metellus Pius, who in his persevering love for his exiled father won by tears a surname as illustrious as others won

adsecutus, non dubitavit consul pro Q. Calidio praeturae candidato supplicare populo, quod tribunus plebis legem qua pater eius in civitatem restitueretur tulerat. quin etiam patronum eum domus et familiae suae semper dictitavit. nec hac re de principatu, quem procul dubio obtinebat, quicquam decerpsit, quia non humili sed grato animo longe inferioris hominis maximo merito eximiam summittebat dignitatem.

8 Nam C. quidem Marii non solum praecipuus sed etiam praepotens gratae mentis fuit impetus: duas enim Camertium cohortes, mira virtute vim Cimbrorum sustinentes, in ipsa acie adversus condicionem foederis civitate donavit. quod quidem factum et vere et egregie excusavit dicendo inter armorum strepitum verba se iuris civilis exaudire non potuisse. et sane id tempus tunc erat quo magis defendere quam audire leges oportebat.

9 C. Marii vestigia ubique L. Sulla certamine laudis subsequitur: dictator enim privato [et][30] Pompeio et caput adaperuit et sella adsurrexit et equo descendit, eaque se libenter facere in contione praedicavit, memor ab eo duodeviginti annis nato partes suas exercitu paterno adiutas. multa insignia Pompeio, sed nescio an hoc quicquam admirabilius contigerit, quod magnitudine beneficii sui oblivisci Sullam coegit.

10 Sit aliquis in summo splendore etiam sordibus gratis locus. M. Cornuto praetore funus Hirtii et Pansae iussu

[30] *om.* ς

---

[8] 80: see Broughton II.83.
[9] 101: Cic. *Balb.* 46, Plut *Mar.* 28, *Moral.* 202C.
[10] 79: Sall. *Hist.* 5.20 Maur., Plut. *Pomp.* 8 etc.

by victories, did not scruple as Consul to beg the people on behalf of Q. Calidius, a candidate for the Praetorship,[8] because as Tribune he had carried a law restoring his father to the community. Indeed he always referred to Calidius as the patron of his house and family. Nor did he thereby detract in any way from the position of leadership which was his beyond question, because he lowered his outstanding dignity before the signal desert of one much his inferior not in a spirit of humility but of gratitude.

To C. Marius came an impulse of gratitude not only preeminent but prepotent. In the heat of battle he gave citizenship contrary to treaty terms to two cohorts of Camertes who were resisting the assault of the Cimbri with extraordinary valour. He excused his action with a true and excellent saying, that in the din of weapons he could not hear the words of civil law. And indeed the time was such that it behoved to defend the laws rather than to hear them.[9]

Everywhere L. Sulla treads upon the footsteps of C. Marius in rivalry of glory. As Dictator he always uncovered his head and rose from his chair and dismounted from his horse before Cn. Pompeius, who was still a private citizen, and stated openly at a public meeting that he did this gladly, remembering that Pompey at eighteen years of age had brought his father's army to aid the Sullan cause. Many distinctions came Pompey's way, but perhaps none more admirable than this, that by the magnitude of his benefaction he made Sulla forget himself.[10]

In utmost splendour let there be a place even for humble gratitude. Praetor M. Cornutus was letting out a contract by order of the senate for the funeral of Hirtius

senatus locante, qui tunc Libitinam exercebant cum rerum suarum usum tum ministerium suum gratuitum polliciti sunt, quia hi pro re publica dimicantes occiderant, perseverantique postulatione extuderunt ut exsequiarum apparatus sestertio nummo ipsis praebendus addiceretur. quorum laudem adiecta legi[31] condicio auget magis quam extenuat, quoniam quidem quaestum contempserunt nulli alii rei quam quaestui viventes.

Pace cinerum suorum reges gentium exterarum secundum hunc tam contemptum gregem referri se patientur, qui aut non attingendus aut [non][32] in ultima parte domesticorum exemplorum collocandus fuit. sed dum honesti etiam ab infimis [estis][33] editi memoria non intercidat, licet separatum locum obtineant, ut nec his adiecti nec illis praelati videantur.

ext. 1 Dareus privatae adhuc fortunae, amiculo Sylosontis Samii delectatus, curiosiore contemplatione fecit ut ultro sibi et quidem a cupido daretur. cuius muneris quam grata aestimatio animo eius esset allapsa regno potitus ostendit: totam namque urbem et insulam Samiorum Sylosonti fruendam tradidit: non enim pretium rei aestimatum sed occasio liberalitatis honorata est, magisque a quo donum proficisceretur quam ad quem perveniret provisum.

ext. 2 Mithridates quoque rex magnifice gratus apparuit, quoniam pro Leonico, acerrimo salutis suae defensore, a

31 legi *SB*: lege* AL 32 *om.* A *corr.*, G
33 estis* AL: *om.* ς: istis *Kempf*

11 43: not found elsewhere.
12 Indicating that they were businessmen.

and Pansa. The practising undertakers of that time promised the use of their equipment and their own services without charge, because the two had fallen fighting for the commonwealth, and by persistent request they forced their point that provision of the funeral accessories at a cost of one sesterce should be assigned to themselves.[11] The condition attached to the contract[12] adds to their credit rather than reduces it, in that persons living for nothing but gain despised gain.

The kings of foreign nations by favour of their ashes will let themselves be recorded following this despised company, which either had to be left unmentioned or placed at the end of our domestic examples. But so long as the memory of a good action done even by the lowliest does not drop out, they may take a place apart, neither seeming added to the one group nor put in front of the other.

EXTERNAL

When Darius was still a private person, he took a fancy to a mantle belonging to Syloson of Samos, and by looking at it fixedly brought Syloson to give it to him unasked and indeed eagerly. How grateful an appreciation of that gift had slipped into his mind he showed when he gained the throne. For he granted the whole city and island of Samos to Syloson to enjoy.[13] It was not an assessment of the value of the article but the honouring of an occasion for liberality, and regard was had to the giver rather than to the recipient.

King Mithridates too showed gratitude in magnificent style. When Leonicus, a zealous champion of his, was

[13] 520: Herod. 3.139–49 etc.

Rhodiis navali pugna excepto omnes hostium captivos permutavit, satius esse existimans ab invisissimis circumiri quam bene merito gratiam non referre.

ext. 3 Liberalis populus Romanus magnitudine muneris, quod Attalo regi Asiam dono dedit. sed Attalus etiam testamenti aequitate gratus, qui eandem Asiam populo Romano legavit. itaque nec huius munificentia nec illius tam memor beneficii animus tot verbis laudari potest quot amplissimae civitates vel amice datae vel pie redditae sunt.

ext. 4 Ceterum nescio an praecipue Masinissae regis pectus grati animi pignoribus fuerit refertum: beneficio enim Scipionis et populi Romani iussu[34] regni modo liberalius auctus, memoriam incliti muneris ad ultimum vitae finem, longa etiam a dis immortalibus senectute donatus, constantissima fide perduxit, adeo ut eum non solum Africa sed etiam cunctae gentes scirent amiciorem Corneliae familiae atque urbi Romanae quam sibimet ipsi semper esse.[35] ille cum gravi Carthaginiensium bello premeretur ac vix tutelae imperii sui sufficeret, tamen Scipioni Aemiliano, quia nepos Africani erat, bonam magnamque partem Numidici exercitus, quam ‹ad›[36] Lucullum consulem, a quo ad auxilia petenda missus fuerat, in Hispaniam duceret, promptissima mente tradidit, praesentique periculo respectum pristini beneficii anteposuit. ille, cum iam aetate deficiente, magnas regni opes quattuor et quinqua-

[34] p. R. iussu *Per.*: per sua* AL
[35] semper esse A *corr.*, G: superesse* AL [36] *add.* A *corr.*

---

[14] 88 or 72: nothing else is known of Leonicus.
[15] Cf. VM 4.8.4. Attalus III died in 133, leaving his kingdom of Pergamus to the Roman people.

taken prisoner by the Rhodians in a sea battle, he exchanged all his enemy captives. He judged it better to be overreached by his bitter foes than not to repay one who had served him well.[14]

The Roman people was liberal in the magnitude of a gift in that it presented Asia to king Attalus; but Attalus too was grateful in the fair dealing of his will, leaving the same Asia to the Roman people.[15] Neither the munificence of the one nor the other's mindfulness of the benefaction can be praised in words as many as the great communities either given in friendship or returned in gratitude.

But it may be that the heart of king Masinissa more than any other was filled with pledges of a grateful spirit. By the benefaction of Scipio and the command of the Roman People the size of his kingdom had been generously enlarged, and he carried to the very end of his life (for he was also gifted by the immortal gods with a long old age) the memory of that famous gift in unwavering loyalty. Not Africa only but all nations knew that he was always more friendly to the Cornelian family and the city of Rome than to himself. Hard pressed by a major war with the Carthaginians and scarcely equal to the protection of his own power, he nonetheless very readily handed over to Scipio Aemilianus, because he was Africanus' grandson, a good large part of the Numidian army to be conducted by him to Consul Lucullus, by whom he had been sent to ask for reinforcements, in Spain; thus placing regard for a former benefaction above present jeopardy. When his days were numbered and he lay collapsing in bed, leaving the great resources of his kingdom to four and fifty sons, he wrote to

ginta filiorum numero relinquens, in lectulo laberetur, M'. Manilium, qui pro consule Africam obtinebat, litteris obsecravit ut ad se Scipionem Aemilianum sub eo tunc militantem mitteret, feliciorem mortem suam futuram ratus si in complexu dexterae eius supremum spiritum ac mandata posuisset. ille, adventum Scipionis fatis suis praecurrentibus, haec uxori liberisque praeceperat, unum in terris populum Romanum et unam in populo Romano Scipionis domum nosse, integra omnia Aemiliano reservare; eum dividendi regni arbitrum haberent: quod is statuisset perinde ac testamento cautum immutabile ac sanctum obtinerent. tot tamque variis rebus se Masinissa infatigabili pietatis serie ad centesimum extendit annum.

His et horum similibus exemplis beneficentia generis humani nutritur atque augetur: hae sunt eius faces, hi stimuli, propter quos iuvandi et emerendi cupiditate flagrat. et sane amplissimae et speciosissimae divitiae sunt feliciter erogatis beneficiis late posse censeri. quorum quoniam religiosum cultum instituimus, nunc neglectum suggillandi gratia, quo sit gratior,[37] referemus.

3. DE INGRATIS

1 Urbis nostrae parentem senatus, in amplissimo dignitatis gradu ab eo collocatus, in curia laceravit, nec duxit nefas ei vitam adimere qui aeternum Romano imperio spiritum ingeneraverat. rude nimirum illud et ferox saecu-

[37] rarior *Watt*[2]

---

[16] 148: App. *Lib.* 105–107, Zonaras 9.27 etc.

M'. Manilius, governing Africa as Proconsul, begging him to send Scipio Aemilianus, who was serving under him at the time; for he thought that his death would be happier if he left his last breath and commissions clasping Scipio's hand. But his end coming faster than Scipio's arrival, he instructed his wife and children that they should know one people on earth, the Roman, and one house among the Roman people, Scipio's; they should reserve all matters clear for Aemilianus, making him arbiter in the division of the kingdom, and maintain what he decided like a testamentary provision, unalterable and sacred. In affairs so many and various did Masinissa stretch his life to his hundredth year in an unflagging course of gratitude.[16]

By these and similar examples the beneficence of the human race is nourished and increased. These are its torches, its spurs, by reason of which it burns with desire to help and win favour. And assuredly the most ample and splendid wealth is the power to be widely registered with benefactions happily disbursed. Since we have instituted a religious cult of such, we shall now relate the neglect of it in order to denounce the same, so that it be prized the more.[17]

3. OF INGRATES

The father of our city was torn to pieces in the senate house by the senate which he had placed on the highest level of dignity, nor did they think it a sin to take the life of him who had engendered everlasting vitality in Roman empire. Rude and fierce, it seems, was that generation.

[17] Or reading *rarior* (Watt), "so that it be more rare."

lum, quod conditoris sui cruore foede maculatum ne summa quidem posteritatis dissimulare pietas potest.

2a Huic [ingrate][38] lapsae mentis errorem consentaneum[39] civitatis nostrae paenitentia sequitur. virium Romanarum et incrementum laetissimum et tutela certissima, Furius Camillus, in urbe incolumitatem suam tueri non valuit, cuius ipse salutem stabilierat, felicitatem auxerat: a L. enim Appuleio tribuno plebis tamquam peculator Veientanae praedae reus factus duris atque, ut ita dicam, ferreis sententiis in exsilium missus est, et quidem eo tempore quo, optimo iuvene filio spoliatus, solaciis magis allevandus quam cladibus onerandus erat. sed immemor patria tanti viri maximorum meritorum exsequiis filii damnationem patris iunxit. at, inquit, aerario abesse tribunus plebis querebatur quindecim milia aeris: tanti namque poena finita est. indignam summam propter quam populus Romanus tali principe careret!

2b Priore adhuc querella vibrante alia deinceps exsurgit. Africanus superior non solum contusam et confractam belli Punici armis rem publicam sed paene iam exsanguem atque morientem Carthaginis dominam reddidit. cuius clarissima opera iniuriis pensando cives vici[40] ignobilis eum ac desertae paludis accolam fecerunt. eiusque voluntarii exilii acerbitatem non tacitus ad inferos tulit, sepulcro suo inscribi iubendo 'ingrata patria, ne ossa quidem mea

[38] ingrate AG: -tae L: *secl. SB*
[39] huic ... consentaneum *SB* (*cf. 5.3.4*): hunc ... -tanea AL
[40] cives vici *Pighius*: civis L: vici *et* civitatis A *corr.*: cives G

---

[1] Another account made Romulus vanish in a storm (Livy 1.16, Dion. Hal. 2.56 etc.)

The piety of posterity, however profound, cannot pretend that it was not foully stained with the blood of its founder.[1]

To a like error of stumbling mind on the part of our community succeeds a repentance. Furius Camillus, alike the happiest scion and surest safeguard of Roman power, could not protect his own survival in the city whose safety he had stabilized, whose felicity he had enhanced. Accused by Tribune of the Plebs L. Appuleius of embezzling the booty of Veii, he was sent by hard, I might say iron, votes into exile, and that at a time when robbed of his son, an excellent young man, he should have been relieved with solace rather than loaded with calamity. But his country, unmindful of the great man's signal services, joined the father's condemnation to the son's obsequies. "Ah, but," it may be said, "the Tribune complained that fifteen thousand asses was missing from the treasury; for that was the amount of the fine." An unworthy sum that the Roman people should lose such a leader for it![2]

As our former protest still reverberates, another rises to succeed it. The commonwealth was not only bruised and broken by the arms of the Second Punic War but already almost bloodless and dying: the elder Africanus made her mistress of Carthage. Balancing his illustrious achievements with insults, his countrymen made him the inhabitant of an ignoble hamlet and a deserted swamp. He did not carry the bitterness of his voluntary exile in silence to those below, but ordered inscribed on his tomb "Ungrateful country, you do not even have my bones."[3] What could

[2] 391: Livy 5.32.8f. etc.
[3] 187: Livy 38.53.8 etc.

habes.' quid ista aut necessitate indignius aut querella iustius aut ultione moderatius? cineres ei suos negavit quam in cinerem collabi passus non fuerat. igitur hanc unam Scipionis vindictam ingrati animi urbs Romana sensit, maiorem me hercule Coriolani violentia: ille enim patriam metu pulsavit, hic verecundia. de qua [re][41] ne queri quidem—tanta verae pietatis constantia—nisi post fata sustinuit.

2c Talia passo, credo, quae fratri eius accidere solacio esse potuerunt. cui rex Antiochus devictus et Asia imperio populi Romani adiecta speciosissimusque triumphus ut peculatus reus fieret et in carcerem duci iuberetur causam praebuit.

2d Nihilo virtute posterior Africanus avo[42] minor, sed ne exitu quidem felicior: duabus enim urbibus, Numantia atque Carthagine, imperio Romano imminentibus ex rerum natura depulsis, raptorem spiritus domi invenit, mortis punitorem in foro non repperit.

2e Quis ignorat tantum laudis Scipionem Nasicam toga quantum armis utrumque Africanum meruisse, qui pestifera Ti. Gracchi manu faucibus apprensam[43] rem publicam strangulari passus non est? sed is quoque propter iniquissimam virtutum suarum apud cives aestimationem sub titulo legationis Pergamum secessit, et quod vitae superfuit ibi sine ullo ingratae patriae desiderio peregit.

[41] *del. Aldus*
[42] avo *Kempf*: aut AL
[43] apprensam *Halm* (apprehen- *Pighius*): oppressam AL

---

[4] *Credo* is ironical, as often.
[5] Cf. VM 4.1.8.

be more unfitting than the necessity, more just than the complaint, more moderate than the reprisal? He denied his ashes to her whom he had not let collapse into ash. This therefore was the only vengeance of Scipio's felt by the ungrateful city of Rome, a greater in truth than Coriolanus' violence. He struck his country with terror, Scipio with shame. He did not even bear to complain of her (such is the resolution of true piety) until after his death.

Suffering as he did, I imagine[4] that what befell his brother could have come to him as a consolation. The defeat of king Antiochus, the addition of Asia to the empire of the Roman people, and a most glorious triumph gave an excuse to charge him with peculation and order him to prison.[5]

The later Africanus was no less a man than his grandfather, but no more fortunate in his ending. Having removed from the Nature of Things two cities that threatened Roman empire, Numantia and Carthage, he met in his house with the ravisher of his breath and did not find his death's avenger in the Forum.[6]

Who is ignorant that Scipio Nasica earned as much glory with the gown as either Africanus with their arms? He did not allow the commonwealth to be strangled when the murderous hand of Ti. Gracchus was at her throat.[7] But he too met with a grossly unjust appreciation of his merits among his countrymen. Therefore under the pretext of a commission he withdrew to Pergamus and there passed the rest of his life[8] without any regret for his ungrateful

[6] He died in 129, supposedly by foul play; see Broughton I.505. [7] Cf. VM 1.4.2, 3.2.17.

[8] Died probably in 132: Cic. *Flacc.* 75 etc.

2f In eodem nomine versor necdum Corneliae gentis querellas exhausi: namque P. Lentulus, clarissimus et amantissimus rei publicae civis, cum in Aventino C. Gracchi nefarios conatus et aciem pia ac forti pugna, magnis vulneribus exceptis, fugasset, proelii illius, quo leges pacem libertatemque in suo statu retinuerat, hanc mercedem tulit, ne in urbe nostra moreretur, si quidem invidia et obtrectatione compulsus, legatione a senatu libera impetrata, habitaque contione qua a dis immortalibus petiit ne umquam ad ingratum populum reverteretur, in Siciliam profectus est, ibique perseveranter morando, compotem se voti fecit. quinque igitur deince<ps>[44] Cornelii totidem sunt notissima ingratae patriae exempla.

2g Atque horum quidem secessus voluntarii: Ahala vero, cum magister equitum Sp. Maelium regnum adfectantem occidisset, custoditae libertatis civium exsilio suo poenas pependit.

3 Ceterum ut senatus populique mens in modum subitae tempestatis concitata leni querella prosequenda est, ita singulorum ingrata facta liberiore indignatione proscindenda sunt, quia potentes consilii, cum utrumque ratione perpendere liceret, scelus pietati praetulerunt. quo enim nimbo, qua procella verborum impium Sextilii caput obrui meretur, quod C. Caesarem, a quo cum studiose tum etiam feliciter gravissimi criminis reus defensus fuerat, Cinnanae proscriptionis tempore profugum, praesidium suum in fundo Tarquiniensi cladis condicione implorare,

[44] deinceps *Halm*: deinde AL

---

[9] 121: Cic. *Catil.* 4.13, *Phil.* 8.14. He was Consul Suffect in 162. [10] 439: Cic. *Sen.* 56 etc. (Broughton I.56).

fatherland.

I am still busy with the same name and have not yet exhausted the grievances of the Cornelian clan. For P. Lentulus, a most illustrious and patriotic citizen, put to flight the villainous attempts and army of C. Gracchus in a pious and brave fight on the Aventine, in which he received serious wounds.[9] His reward for that battle, by which he had preserved laws, peace, and freedom in their station, was not to die in our city. For he was forced by ill will and backbiting to obtain a free commission from the senate and, after holding a public meeting in which he besought the immortal gods that he never return to the ungrateful people, he left for Sicily. There steadfastly he stayed and so gained his prayer. Thus five successive Cornelii are so many notorious examples of an ungrateful country.

Their withdrawals were voluntary. But Ahala, when as Master of Horse he slew Sp. Maelius, who was aiming at monarchy, paid the penalty for guarding his countrymen's freedom with his own exile.[10]

But if the mind of senate and people excited like a sudden squall is best visited with a mild remonstrance, the ungrateful acts of individuals are to be lashed with more outspoken indignation, because being well able to deliberate they preferred crime to piety when they could weigh both in the scale of reason. With what a downpour, what a storm of words does the impious head of Sextilius deserve to be overwhelmed! He had been zealously and also successfully defended on a very serious charge by C. Caesar. When Caesar was a fugitive at the time of the Cinnan proscription, he was forced by his calamitous plight to beg Sextilius' protection at his property near Tarquinii and to

beneficii iure repetere coactum, a sacris perfidae mensae et altaribus nefandorum penatium avulsum truculento victori iugulandum tradere non exhorruit? finge accusatorem eius fortuna publica in supplicis nomen conversum tam luctuosam illam opem genibus adnixum orasse: crudeliter tamen repulsus videretur, quia etiam quos iniuriae invisos faciunt, gratiosos miseriae reddunt. verum Sextilius non accusatorem sed patronum saevissimae inimici violentiae suis manibus obiecit, si metu mortis, vita indignus, si praemii spe, dignissimus morte.

4 Sed ut ad alium consentaneum huic ingrati animi actum transgrediar, M. Cicero C. Popillium Laenatem, Picenae regionis, rogatu M. Caelii non minore cura quam eloquentia defendit, eumque causa admodum dubia fluctuantem salvum ad penates suos remisit. hic Popillius postea, nec re nec verbo a Cicerone laesus, ultro M. Antonium rogavit ut ad illum proscriptum persequendum et iugulandum mitteretur, impetratisque detestabilis ministerii partibus gaudio exsultans Caietam cucurrit, et virum mitto quod amplissimae dignitatis, certe salutari[45] studio praesentis[46] officii privatim sibi venerandum, iugulum praebere iussit, ac protinus caput Romanae eloquentiae et pacis clarissimam dexteram per summum et securum otium amputavit, eaque sarcina tamquam opimis spoliis alacer in urbem reversus est: neque enim scelestum por-

[45] salutari *Kempf*: salubritati A: -tate L: A *corr.*, G

[46] praesentis *SB*: -stantis AL salubritatis ... officii *intra cruces Briscoe*; Br

claim it by right of his benefaction. Did Sextilius not shudder to tear him from the rites of a treacherous table and the altars of wicked household gods and hand him over for slaughter to the savage victor? I imagine that if his accuser, turned by public fortune to the name of suppliant, had begged on his knees for that mournful succour, it would even so have seemed cruel to reject him, because even those whom injury makes odious win favour by miseries. But Sextilius with his own hands offered not his accuser but his advocate to the ruthless violence of an enemy; if from fear of death, he was unworthy to live, if in hope of reward, he richly deserved to die.[11]

But to pass to another act of ingratitude consonant with the above, M. Cicero at M. Caelius' request defended C. Popillius Laenas of the district of Picenum with no less assiduity than eloquence and, hanging in the balance as he was with a very doubtful case, sent him home safe. Later this Popillius of his own accord asked Mark Antony to be sent to pursue and slaughter the proscribed Cicero, who had not harmed him either in deed or word. His role, the abominable employment, was granted him. Exultant he hurried to Caieta and commanded to offer his throat one whom he should at least have privately respected on account of ready service rendered with salutary zeal, to say nothing of his exalted public standing. And straight away he cut off the head of Roman eloquence and the illustrious right hand of peace in perfect leisure and security. Thus burdened as though with spoils of single combat, he briskly

[11] 87: Cic. *De orat.* 3.10 etc. (details only in Valerius). Caesar is C. Julius Caesar Strabo.

tanti onus succurrit illud se caput ferre quod pro capite eius quondam peroraverat. invalidae ad hoc monstrum suggillandum litterae, quoniam qui talem Ciceronis casum satis digne deplorare possit alius Cicero non exstat.

5 Quo te nunc modo, Magne Pompei, attingam nescio: nam et amplitudinem fortunae tuae, quae quondam omnes terras et omnia maria fulgore suo occupaverat, intueor et ruinam eius maiorem esse quam ut manu mea attemptari debeat memini. sed tamen nobis quoque tacentibus Cn. Carbonis, a quo admodum adulescens de paternis bonis in foro dimicans protectus es, iussu tuo interempti mors animis hominum non sine aliqua reprehensione obversabitur, quia tam ingrato facto plus L. Sullae viribus quam propriae indulsisti verecundiae.

ext. 1 Ac ne nostra confessis alienigenae urbes insultent, Carthaginienses Hannibalem, qui pro illorum incolumitate et victoria tot imperatores totque exercitus nostros trucidaverat quot, gregarios milites hostium si occidisset, magnae gloriae foret, conspectu suo summovere animum induxerunt.

ext. 2 Nęminem Lycurgo aut maiorem aut utiliorem virum Lacedaemon genuit, utpote cui Apollo Pythius oraculum petenti respondisse fertur nescire se utrum illum hominum an deorum numero adgregaret. huic tamen neque

---

[12] 43: Sen. *Suas.* 6.20 etc. The cognomen Laenas makes it unlikely that he was a freedman or descended from one, since freedmen regularly took their slave name as cognomen. Though only a private in the army (Livy *Per.* 120) from Picenum, he may yet have come from the noble Popillii.

returned to Rome.[12] Nor did it occur to him as he carried that evil load that he was bearing the head that had once pleaded for his own. To vilify this monster words are weak, for there exists no other Cicero who could adequately lament Cicero's fate, such a fate.

How I shall now touch on you, Magnus Pompeius, I know not. I look upon the greatness of your fortune, which with its brilliance once filled all lands and all seas, and I bear in mind that its downfall was too mighty to be approached by my hand. All the same, even if I keep silent, the death of Cn. Carbo, executed by your orders, will be present to men's minds not without some censure, because by so ungrateful an act you yielded more to the power of L. Sulla than to your own sense of decency. For he protected you when you were a very young man fighting in the Forum about your father's estate.[13]

EXTERNAL

Lest foreign cities cast our admissions in our teeth, the Carthaginians brought themselves to put Hannibal out of their sight—[14] Hannibal, who for their safety and victory had slaughtered as many Roman generals and armies as would have been greatly to his glory if they had been private enemy soldiers whom he had killed.

Lacedaemon produced no man greater or more useful than Lycurgus, to whom Pythian Apollo, when he sought an oracle, is said to have responded that he knew not whether to place him among men or gods.[15] And yet

13 82/81: cf. VM 6.2.8, 9.13.2. Carbo's death is widely recorded (Broughton II.66), but this detail only by Valerius.

14 195: Livy 33.47; cf. VM 4.1.6b.

15 Herod. 1.65.

vitae summa sinceritas neque constantissimus erga patriam amor neque leges salutariter excogitatae auxilio esse potuerunt quo minus infestos cives experiretur: saepe enim lapidibus petitus, aliquando foro eiectus, oculo[47] etiam privatus, ad ultimum ipsa patria pulsus est. quid aliae faciant urbes, ubi etiam illa quae constantiae et moderationis et gravitatis eximiam sibi laudem vindicat tam ingrata adversus tam bene meritum exstitit?

ext. 3a Detrahe Atheniensibus Thesea, nullae aut non tam clarae Athenae erunt, si quidem ille vicatim dispersos cives suos in suam[48] unam urbem contraxit, separatimque et agresti more viventi populo amplissimae civitatis formam atque imaginem imposuit. idem saeva potentissimi regis Minois imperia vixdum aetate pubescente reppulit; idem effrenatam Thebarum insolentiam domuit; idem opem liberis Herculis tulit et quidquid ubique monstri aut sceleris fuit virtute animi ac robore dexterae comminuit. huius tamen summoti ab Atheniensibus Scyros, exsule minor insula, ossa mortui cepit.

ext. 3b Iam Solon, qui tam praeclaras tamque utiles Atheniensibus leges tulit ut si iis perpetuo uti voluissent, sempiternum habituri fuerint imperium, qui Salaminam velut hostilem arcem ex propinquo saluti eorum imminentem recuperavit, qui Pisistrati tyrannidem primus vidit orientem, solus armis opprimi debere palam dictitare ausus, senectutem Cypri profugus exegit, neque ei in patria, de qua optime meruerat, humari contigit.

[47] foro ... oculo *Kempf*: furore ... publico AL [48] *om.* ς

---

[16] Plut. *Lyc.* 11 etc. [17] See Herter, *RE* suppl. XIII.1212f.
[18] See Briscoe.

neither the strict uprightness of his life nor his unfailing patriotism nor the salutary laws of his devising could save him from experiencing his countrymen's hostility. He was often the target of stones, sometimes thrown out of the Forum, even deprived of an eye, finally driven from his native city itself.[16] What should other cities do when even this one, that claims special credit for steadfastness, moderation, and gravity, proved so ungrateful to so deserving a citizen?

Take Theseus away from the Athenians and Athens will not exist or not be so famous, since it was he who brought his countrymen scattered in villages into a single city of their own and gave the form and semblance of a great community to a people living separately and in rustic fashion. He also when scarcely more than a boy repudiated the cruel commands of Minos, a very powerful king. He also tamed the unbridled insolence of Thebes. He also gave aid to the children of Hercules and by the valour of his soul and the strength of his right hand pulverized monsters and crimes wherever they existed. But the Athenians banished him, and Scyros, an island too small for an exile, took his bones in death.[17]

And Solon? He who proposed such splendid and useful laws for the Athenians that if they had chosen to practise them in perpetuity they would have kept their empire forever; who recovered Salamis, which threatened their safety from close by like an enemy citadel; who was the first to see Pisistratus' tyranny rising and the only one who dared to say openly that it should be crushed by arms—Solon spent his old age as a fugitive in Cyprus and did not find burial in the country from which he had deserved so much.[18]

ext. 3c Bene egissent Athenienses cum Miltiade si eum post trecenta milia Persarum Marathone devicta in exsilium protinus misissent ac non in carcere et vinculis mori coegissent. at, puto, hactenus saevire adversus optime meritum abunde duxerunt. immo ne corpus quidem eius sic exspirare coacti sepulturae prius mandari passi sunt quam Cimo filius eius eisdem se vinculis constringendum traderet. hanc hereditatem paternam maximi ducis filius et futurus ipse aetatis suae dux maximus solam se crevisse, catenas et carcerem, gloriari potuit.

ext. 3d Aristides etiam, quo totius Graeciae iustitia censetur, continentiae quoque eximium specimen, patria iussus excedere est. felices Athenas, quae post illius exsilium invenire aliquem aut virum bonum aut amantem sui civem potuerunt, cum quo tunc ipsa sanctitas migravit!

ext. 3e Themistocles, eorum qui ingratam patriam experti sunt celeberrimum exemplum, cum illam incolumem, claram, opulentam, principem Graeciae reddidisset, eo usque sensit inimicam ut ad Xerxis,[49] quem paulo ante destruxerat, non debitam sibi misericordiam perfugere necesse haberet.

ext. 3f Phocion vero, iis dotibus quae ad pariendum homin<um amor>em[50] potentissimae iudicantur, clementia et liberalitate, instructissimus, tantum non in eculeum ab Atheniensibus impositus est. certe post obitum nullam Atticae regionis quae ossibus eius iniceretur glebulam

[49] ad Xerxis A *corr.*, LG: Arxerxis A: ad Artaxe- *Halm*
[50] *add. Kempf**

---

[19] 489: Herod. 6.136 etc.
[20] *Ath. Pol.* 22.7 etc.

The Athenians would have done Miltiades a kindness if they had sent him into exile immediately after the defeat of three hundred thousand Persians at Marathon and not forced him to die in prison and fetters. Surely, though, they thought such cruelty to one who had deserved so much from them went far enough in all conscience? Not so: they did not allow his body, after he had been forced to die in this fashion, to be given up for burial until his son Cimon surrendered himself to be bound in the same fetters. The son of a famous commander, himself to become the most famous commander of his time, could boast that this was all he inherited from his father, chains and prison.[19]

Aristides too, who set the standard of justice for all Greece, also an outstanding example of abstinence, was ordered to leave his country. Fortunate Athens, that after his exile could find a good man or a citizen to love her after banishing one in whose company Probity herself went abroad![20]

Themistocles is the most celebrated representative of those who found their country ungrateful. Having made her safe, famous, powerful, leader of Greece, he experienced from her such hostility that he must needs flee to the undeserved compassion of Xerxes, whom a little earlier he had ruined.[21]

Phocion was well equipped with clemency and liberality, which two gifts are judged the most effective generators of human affection: the Athenians all but put him on the rack. Certainly after his death he found no piece of Attic earth to be thrown upon his body. They ordered him

[21] 464? According to Thucydides (1.137.3) the Persian king was Xerxes' successor, Artaxerxes I.

invenit, iussus extra fines proici, intra quos optimus civis vixerat.

Quid abest igitur quin publica dementia sit existimanda summo consensu maximas virtutes quasi gravissima delicta punire, beneficiaque iniuriis rependere? quod cum ubique tum praecipue Athenis intolerabile videri debet, in qua urbe adversus ingratos actio constituta est, et recte, quia dandi et accipiendi beneficii commercium, sine quo vix vita hominum exstaret,[51] tollit quisquis bene merito parem referre gratiam neglegit. quantam ergo reprehensionem merentur qui, cum aequissima iura sed iniquissima ingenia haberent, moribus suis quam legibus uti maluerunt? quod si qua providentia deorum effici posset ut excellentissimi viri quorum modo casus rettuli legem ingratorum vindicem recitantes[52] patriam suam in ius ad aliam civitatem pertraherent, nonne ingeniosum et garrulum populum mutum atque elinguem hac postulatione reddidissent? 'discordes foci tui pagisque dividua tuguria Graeciae facta sunt columen: lucet Marathon Persicis tropaeis: Salamina et Artemisium Xerxis naufragia numerantur: praevalidis manibus exhausta moenia pulchrioribus operibus consurgunt. harum rerum auctores ubi vixerunt? ubi iacent? responde! nempe Thesea parvulo in scopulo sepeliri, et Miltiadem in carcere mori, et Cimona paternas induere catenas, et Themistoclea victorem victi hostis genua complecti, Solonemque cum Aristide et Phocione

[51] extaret A *corr.*: experet L: extat G; Br
[52] recitantes *Watt*[1]: retinentes AL

---

[22] 318: Nep. *Phoc.* 4 etc.

cast out of those boundaries within which he had lived as the best of citizens.[22]

What is wanting then that we should judge it public insanity to punish by general consent the greatest of merits like the worst of offences and to repay benefactions with injuries? That should seem intolerable anywhere, but particularly in Athens, in which city prosecution of ingrates was legalized and rightly so, since whoever neglects to make equal return to a benefactor abolishes the interplay of giving and receiving benefits without which life would be hardly livable. How severe a censure then do they deserve who, having most fair laws but most unfair natures, have preferred to follow their characters rather than their statutes! If by some divine providence it could have been brought about that the excellent personages whose fates I have just recounted could haul their country into court before another community, reciting the law that penalizes ingratitude, would they not have struck that clever, voluble people mute and dumb with the following arraignment? "Your disunited hearths and huts divided among rural districts became the crown of Greece. Marathon shines with Persian trophies. Salamis and Artemisium are scored up[23] as Xerxes' shipwrecks. Buildings razed by hands all too strong rise in works of greater beauty. Where did the authors of all this live? Where do they lie? Answer! In your ingratitude you forced, did you not, Theseus to be buried on a little rock, Miltiades to die in prison, Cimon to put on his father's chains, Themistocles the victor to clasp the knees of the vanquished enemy, Solon and Aristides and Phocion

[23] On this meaning of *numerare* see *American Journal of Philology* 110 (1989). 135.

penates suos ingrata fugere coegisti, cum interim cineribus nostris foede ac miserabiliter dispersis Oedipodis ossa, caede patris, nuptiis matris contaminata, inter ipsum Arium pagum, divini atque humani certaminis venerabile domicilium, et excelsam praesidis[53] Minervae arcem honore arae decorata sacrosancti herois more[54] colis. adeo tibi aliena mala tuis bonis gratiora sunt. lege itaque legem quae te iure iurando obstrictam tenet, et quia bene meritis debita reddere praemia noluisti, laesis iusta piacula exsolve.' tacent mutae illorum umbrae, fati necessitate constrictae: at, immemores beneficiorum Athenae, reprehensionis[55] lingua sermone licenti soluta non tacet.

4

praef. Sed omittamus ingratos et potius de piis loquamur: aliquanto enim satius est favorabili quam invisae rei vacare. venite igitur in manus nostras, prospera parentium vota, felicibus auspiciis propagatae suboles, quae efficitis ut et genuisse iuvet et generare libeat.

DE PIETATE ERGA PARENTES ET FRATRES ET PATRIAM

1 Coriolanus, maximi vir animi et altissimi consilii optimeque de re publica meritus, iniquissimae damnationis ruina prostratus ad Volscos, infestos tunc Romanis, confugit. magno ubique pretio virtus aestimatur: itaque quo latebras quaesitum venerat, ibi brevi summum est adeptus

[53] excelsam praesidis *Mitalerius*: -sis -diis AL

[54] decorata *(Madvig)* sacrosancti herois (*Reifferscheid*) more (*SB*): -atos sacrosancti(h)ores AL

[55] -onis ς: -one* AL

to flee their household gods? And all the time, while our ashes are foully and pitiably scattered, you pay cult to the bones of Oedipus, tainted with a father's murder and a mother's marriage, in the fashion of a sacrosanct hero, adorned with the honour of an altar, on the very hill of Ares, the venerable home of divine and human conflict, and the lofty citadel of guardian Minerva. So much more you care for alien ills than for your own blessings. So read the law that holds you oath-bound and because you would not give those who deserved well of you their due rewards, pay just atonement to those you injured." Their shades are mute and silent, bound by necessity of fate. But, Athens, unmindful as you are of benefits, a tongue loosed in unbridled discourse does not keep silent its reproach.

4

But let us leave ingrates and rather speak of the pious, for it is considerably better to take time for a popular topic than an odious one. Come then to our hands, successful prayers of parents, offspring propagated under happy auspices, who make us glad to have given life and wishful to give it.

OF PIETY TOWARDS PARENTS AND BROTHERS AND COUNTRY

Coriolanus, high of heart and profound of counsel, who had deserved much from his country, was laid low in the downfall of a most unjust conviction and took refuge with the Volsci, who were then at enmity with Rome. Everywhere worth is greatly prized. So where he had come to seek a hiding place, there in a short time he gained

imperium, evenitque ut quem pro se salutarem imperatorem cives habere noluerant, paene pestiferum adversus se ducem experirentur: frequenter enim fusis exercitibus nostris victoriarum suarum gradibus aditum iuxta moenia urbis Volsco militi struxit. quapropter fastidiosus ille in aestimandis bonis suis populus, qui reo non pepercerat, exsuli coactus est supplicare. missi ad eum deprecandum legati nihil profecerunt; missi deinde sacerdotes cum infulis aeque sine effectu redierunt. stupebat senatus, trepidabat populus, viri pariter ac mulieres exitium imminens lamentabantur. tunc Veturia mater Coriolani, Volumniam uxorem eius et liberos secum trahens, castra Volscorum petiit. quam ubi filius aspexit, 'expugnasti' inquit 'et vicisti iram meam, patria, precibus huius admotis, cuius utero quamvis merito mihi invisam dono,' continuoque agrum Romanum hostilibus armis liberavit. ergo pectus dolore acceptae iniuriae, spe potiendae victoriae, verecundia detractandi ministerii, metu mortis refertum, totum sibi Pietas vacuefecit, uniusque parentis aspectus bellum atrox salutari pace mutavit.

2 Eadem Pietas viribus suis inflammatum Africanum superiorem, vixdum annos pubertatis ingressum, ad opem patri in acie ferendam virili robore armavit: consulem enim eum, apud Ticinum flumen adversis auspiciis cum Hannibale pugnantem, graviter saucium intercessu suo servavit, neque illum aut aetatis infirmitas aut militiae

---

[1] 488: cf. VM 1.8.4.

supreme command. Thus it fell out that his countrymen, who had not wanted to have him as a general on their side promoting their welfare, made trial of him as a commander opposing them almost to their undoing. For putting many of our armies to rout, by the steps of his victories he built at the city walls an access for the Volscian soldiery. Thus the people, so fastidious in estimating their blessings, were obliged to supplicate as an exile him whom they had not spared as a defendant. Envoys sent to placate him achieved nothing. Priests were sent then with their fillets and returned equally unsuccessful. The senate was stunned, the people trembled, men and women alike bewailed impending destruction. Then Veturia, Coriolanus' mother, bringing with her his wife Volumnia and their children, sought the Volscian camp. When her son saw her, "My country," he said, "you have taken my anger by storm and vanquished it, now that you bring this woman's prayers to bear on me. To her womb, deservedly hateful to me as you are, I concede you." And forthwith he freed the Roman territory from enemy arms. So Piety made all his bosom empty for herself, filled though it was with resentment for injury received, hope of victory to be gained, embarrassment at shirking his commission, fear of death. And the sight of one parent exchanged a bloody war for a salutary peace.[1]

The same Piety fired the elder Africanus with her strength and armed him, scarcely more than a boy, to come to his father's aid in battle with a man's vigour. By his intervention he saved his father's life when he, the Consul, was gravely wounded fighting Hannibal under adverse auspices at the river Ticinus. Neither the weakness of his age nor his lack of military experience nor the outcome of an

tirocinium aut infelicis proelii etiam veterano bellatori pertimescendus exitus interpellare valuit, quo minus duplici gloria conspicuus coronam imperatore simul et patre ex ipsa morte rapto mereretur.

3 Auribus ista tam praeclara exempla Romana civitas accepit, illa vidit oculis. L. Manlio Torquato diem ad populum Pomponius tribunus plebis dixerat, quod occasione bene ‹con›ficiendi[56] belli inductus legitimum obtinendi imperii tempus excessisset, quodque filium optimae indolis iuvenem rustico opere gravatum publicis usibus subtraheret. id postquam Manlius adulescens cognovit, protinus urbem petiit et se in Pomponii domum prima luce derexit. qui existimans in hoc eum venisse, ut patris crimina, a quo plus iusto aspere tractabatur, deferret, excedere omnes iussit cubiculo, quo licentius remotis arbitris indicium perageret. nactus occasionem opportunam proposito suo, iuvenis gladium, quem tectum attulerat, destrinxit, tribunumque minis ac terrore compulsum iurare coegit a patris eius accusatione recessurum, eoque effectum est ne Torquatus causam diceret. commendabilis est pietas quae mansuetis parentibus praestatur. sed Manlius, quo horridiorem patrem habuit, hoc periculo eius laudabilius subvenit, quia ad eum diligendum praeter naturalem amorem nullo indulgentiae blandimento invitatus fuerat.

4 Hanc pietatem aemulatus M. Cotta eo ipso die quo togam virilem sumpsit, protinus ut e Capitolio descendit,

[56] *add. Pighius*

---

2 218: Livy 21.46.7–10 etc. 3 362: Cic. *Off.* 3.112, Livy 7.3.4f. The father was not Torquatus, which cognomen was won by his son, but Capitolinus (Imperiosus).

unlucky battle apt to make even a veteran warrior afraid could deter him from earning a crown by snatching father and commander at the same time from the jaws of death, conspicuous with a twofold glory.[2]

The Roman community learned of these splendid examples with their ears, but the following they saw with their eyes. Tribune of the Plebs Pomponius had summoned L. Manlius Torquatus to trial before the people for having exceeded the legal time limit of his command, led thereto by an opportunity to end the war successfully, and for having burdened his son, a young man of excellent natural qualities, with farm labour and so withdrawn him from public services. When young Manlius heard of it, he made for the city forthwith and found his way to Pomponius' house at daybreak. The Tribune supposed him to have come to make accusations against his father, who had treated him with unjustified harshness, and to let him go through his information more freely with onlookers out of the way he ordered everyone to leave his bedchamber. The young man had found an opportunity suited to his purpose. Drawing a sword which he had brought concealed, he forced the Tribune with threats and terror to swear that he would withdraw from the prosecution of his father; as a result Torquatus did not have to plead.[3] Piety rendered to gentle parents is commendable; but the rougher father he had, the more is Manlius to be praised for coming to his aid in his peril. He had not been invited to love him by any coaxing of indulgence, apart from natural affection.

Emulating this piety, M. Cotta on the very day he put on the manly gown, as soon as he came down from the

Cn. Carbonem, a quo pater eius damnatus fuerat, postulavit, peractumque[57] reum iudicio adflixit, et ingenium et adulescentiam praeclaro opere auspicatus.

5 Apud C. quoque Flaminium auctoritas patria aeque potens fuit: nam cum tribunus plebis legem de Gallico agro viritim dividendo invito et repugnante senatu promulgasset, precibus minisque eius acerrime resistens ac ne exercitu quidem adversum se conscripto, si in eadem sententia perseveraret, absterritus, postquam pro rostris ei legem iam referenti pater manum iniecit, privato fractus imperio descendit e rostris, ne minimo quidem murmure destitutae contionis reprehensus.

6 Magna sunt haec virilis pietatis opera, sed nescio an his omnibus valentius et animosius Claudiae Vestalis virginis factum. quae, cum patrem suum triumphantem e curru violenta tribuni plebis manu detrahi animadvertisset, mira celeritate utrisque se interponendo amplissimam potestatem inimicitiis accensam depulit. igitur alterum triumphum pater in Capitolium, alterum filia in aedem Vestae duxit, nec discerni potuit utri plus laudis tribueretur, cui victoria an cui pietas comes aderat.

7 Ignoscite, vetustissimi foci, veniamque aeterni date ignes, si a vestro sacratissimo templo ad necessarium magis quam speciosum urbis locum contextus operis nostri progressus fuerit: nulla enim acerbitate Fortunae, nullis

[57] perac- P: pertrac- AL

---

[4] 59? Cf. Dio 36.40.3f. This Carbo's praenomen was Gaius (same error in VM 6.2.3; cf. *RE* Papirius 35).

[5] 232? See Broughton I.225; Cic. *Inv.* 2.52. etc.

Capitol, laid a charge against Cn. Carbo, by whom his father had been convicted, and in a regular prosecution brought him down with a verdict, thus inaugurating his own talent and adult career with a fine piece of work.[4]

With C. Flaminius too parental authority was equally potent. As Tribune of the Plebs he had promulgated a law to distribute the Gallic territory individually against the will and resistance of the senate, vehemently opposing its entreaties and threats and undeterred even by the levying of an army against him should he persist in the same purpose. But when his father placed a hand on him as he was already on the rostra putting the law to vote, overborne by private authority he came down from the platform. Nor did the assembly which he left in the lurch censure him by even the slightest murmur.[5]

Great are these works of male piety, but perhaps the action of Claudia the Vestal Virgin was more powerful and courageous than them all. Seeing her father at his triumph being dragged from his car by the violent hand of a Tribune of the Plebs, she put herself between the two with amazing speed and so drove off a mighty power fired by enmities. So the father led one triumph to the Capitol while the daughter led another to the temple of Vesta, nor could it be determined which of the two should be praised the more, he who had victory by his side or she who had piety.[6]

Forgive me, most ancient hearth, give me your pardon, eternal fire, if the scheme of my work advance from your most sacred temple to a place in the city more necessary than splendid. For by no harshness of Fortune, no squalor,

[6] 143: Cic. *Cael.* 34 etc.

sordibus pretium carae pietatis evilescit; quin etiam eo certius quo miserius experimentum habet.

Sanguinis ingenui mulierem praetor apud tribunal suum capitali crimine damnatam triumviro in carcere necandam tradidit. quo receptam is qui custodiae praeerat, misericordia motus, non protinus strangulavit: aditum quoque ad eam filiae, sed diligenter excussae, ne quid cibi inferret, dedit, existimans futurum ut inedia consumeretur. cum autem plures iam dies intercederent, secum ipse quaerens quidnam esset quo tam diu sustentaretur, curiosius observata filia animadvertit illam exerto ubere famem matris lactis sui subsidio lenientem. quae tam admirabilis spectaculi novitas ab ipso ad triumvirum, a triumviro ad praetorem, a praetore ad consilium iudicum perlata, remissionem poenae mulieri impetravit. quo non penetrat aut quid non excogitat Pietas, quae in carcere servandae genetricis novam rationem invenit? quid enim tam inusitatum, quid tam inauditum quam matrem uberibus natae alitam? putarit aliquis hoc contra rerum naturam factum, nisi diligere parentes prima Naturae lex esset.

ext. 1 Idem praedicatum de pietate Perus existimetur, quae patrem suum Mycona,[58] consimili fortuna adfectum parique custodiae traditum, iam ultimae senectutis velut infantem pectori suo admotum aluit. haerent ac stupent hominum oculi, cum huius facti pictam imaginem vident, casusque antiqui condicionem praesentis spectaculi admi-

[58] Mycona *Muncker*: Cimona AL

---

[7] About 151? Pliny *N.H.* 7.121, Fest. 228 Lindsay.
[8] Hyg. *Fab.* 254.

is the value of dear piety cheapened; on the contrary, the more unhappy in the trial, the more certain.

A Praetor had handed over a woman of free birth found guilty at his tribunal of a capital crime to the Triumvir to be executed in prison. Received there, the head warder had pity on her and did not strangle her immediately. He even allowed her daughter to visit her, but only after she had been thoroughly searched to make sure she was not bringing in any food, in the expectation that the prisoner would die of starvation. But after a number of days had passed, he asked himself what could be sustaining her so long. Observing the daughter more closely, he noticed her putting out her breast and relieving her mother's hunger with the succour of her own milk. This novel and remarkable spectacle was reported by him to the Triumvir, by the Triumvir to the Praetor, by the Praetor to the board of judges; as a result the woman's sentence was remitted.[7] Whither does Piety not penetrate, what does she not devise? In prison she found a new way to save a mother. For what so extraordinary, so unheard of, as for a mother to be nourished by her daughter's breasts? This might be thought to be against nature, if to love parents were not Nature's first law.

EXTERNAL

Let the same be considered as predicated concerning the piety of Pero, whose father Myco was in a like sorry plight and equally under prison guard. A man in extreme old age, she put him like a baby to her breast and fed him.[8] Men's eyes are riveted in amazement when they see the painting of this act and renew the features of the long bygone incident in astonishment at the spectacle now before

ratione renovant, in illis mutis membrorum liniamentis viva ac spirantia corpora intueri credentes. quod necesse est animo quoque evenire, aliquanto efficaciore pictura litterarum ‹monumentis›[59] vetera pro recentibus admonito[60] recordari.

ext. 2 Ne te quidem, Cimo, silentio involvam, qui patri tuo sepulturam voluntariis vinculis emere non dubitasti: nam etsi maximo tibi postea et civi et duci evadere contigit, plus tamen aliquanto laudis in carcere quam in curia adsecutus es: ceterae enim virtutes admirationis tantummodo multum, pietas vero etiam amoris plurimum meretur.

ext. 3 Vos quoque, fratres, memoria complectar, quorum animus origine fuit nobilior, si quidem admodum humiles in Hispania nati pro parentium alimentis spiritum erogando specioso exitu vitae inclaruistis: duodecim enim milia nummum, quae post mortem vestram iis darentur, a Paciaecis pacti, ut eorum patris interfectorem Etpastum, gentis suae tyrannum, occideretis, nec ausi solum insigne facinus estis, sed etiam strenuo ac forti exitu clausistis: iisdem enim manibus Paciaecis ultionem, Etpasto poenam, genitoribus nutrimenta, vobis gloriosa fata peperistis. itaque tumulis etiam nunc vivitis, quia parentium senectutem tueri quam vestram exspectare satius esse duxistis.

ext. 4 Notiora sunt fratrum paria Cleobis et Biton, Amphinomus et Anapius,[61] illi quod ad sacra Iunonis peragenda

[59] *add. SB*
[60] admonito *Lipsius*: -tos AL
[61] Anapius P: Anaphas AL: -pias *Kempf*

---

[9] Cf. VM 5.3.3c. [10] Not found elsewhere.
[11] Herod. 1.31 etc.

them, believing that in those silent outlines of limbs they see living and breathing bodies. This must needs happen to the mind also, admonished to remember things long past as though they were recent by painting, which is considerably more effective than literary memorials.

Neither shall I wrap you in silence, Cimon, who did not hesitate to buy burial for your father with voluntary chains. For although it was later your fortune to turn out a very great citizen and general, you gained considerably more glory in the prison than in the senate house. Other virtues only earn much admiration, but piety also earns love and a great deal of it.[9]

You too, brethren, I shall embrace in memory. Your hearts were nobler than your origin, for you were very humbly born in Spain; but by sacrificing your breath to feed your parents you became famous through an impressive departure from life. You made a bargain with the Paciaeci to kill their father's murderer Etpastus, tyrant of his nation, in return for twelve thousand sesterces, to be given to your parents after your deaths; and not only did you dare this noble deed but concluded it with a vigorous and brave ending. For with the same hands you procured revenge for the Paciaeci, punishment for Etpastus, food for your progenitors, and a glorious fate for yourselves.[10] So even now you live by your tombs, because you thought it better to protect your parents' old age than to await your own.

Better known pairs of brothers are Cleobis and Biton, Amphinomus and Anapius: the first because they carried their mother to perform the rites of Juno,[11] the second

matrem vexerint, hi quod patrem et matrem umeris per medios ignes portarint, sed neutris pro spiritu parentium exspirare propositum fuit.

ext. 5 Nec ego Argivam detrecto laudem aut Aetnaei montis gloriam minuo, verum obscuriori propter ignorantiam pietati notitiae lumen admoveo, sicut Scythis libenter pietatis testimonium reddo: Dareo enim, totis regni sui viribus in eorum regionibus subinde impetum facienti, paulatim cedentes ad ultimum iam solitudinis[62] pervenerant. interrogati deinde ab eo per legatos quem finem fugiendi aut quod initium pugnandi facturi essent, responderunt se nec urbes ullas nec agros cultos, pro quibus dimicarent, habere: ceterum, cum ad parentium suorum monumenta venisset, sciturum quemadmodum Scythae proeliari solerent. quo quidem uno tam pio dicto immanis et barbara gens ab omni se feritatis crimine redemit. prima igitur et optima Rerum Natura pietatis est magistra, quae nullo vocis ministerio, nullo usu litterarum indigens propriis ac tacitis viribus caritatem parentium liberorum pectoribus infundit. quid ergo doctrina proficit? ut politiora scilicet, non ut meliora fiant ingenia, quoniam quidem solida virtus nascitur magis quam fingitur.

ext. 6 Quis enim plaustris vagos et silvarum latebris corpora sua tegentes in modumque ferarum laniatu pecudum viventes sic Dareo respondere docuit? illa nimirum, quae etiam Croesi filium loquendi usu defectum ad protegendam patris incolumitatem ministerio vocis instruxit: captis enim a Cyro Sardibus, cum unus e numero Persarum igna-

[62] ultimum iam solitudinis *Per.*: -mum Asiam -nis AL: -mas Asiae -nes G

because they bore their father and mother on their shoulders through the midst of flames.[12] But neither intended to expire for the sake of their parents' breath.

Nor am I disparaging Argive praise or belittling the glory of Mount Aetna, but I am moving the light of publicity on to a piety more obscure because of ignorance, just as I gladly give testimony to the Scythians. Darius launched attack after attack in their territories with the whole power of his realm; gradually retreating, they arrived at the uttermost confines of the wilderness. Asked by him through envoys what limit they were going to set to fleeing or what start to fighting, they answered that they had neither cities nor cultivated lands for which to do battle; but when he came to the tombs of their parents he would know how the Scythians were accustomed to fight.[13] By that one pious saying this savage, barbarous nation redeemed itself from all reproach of inhumanity. So Nature is the first and best teacher of piety; needing no instrument of voice, no use of letters, by her peculiar and silent power she instils love of parents into the hearts of children. What then is the use of learning? Surely to make politer dispositions, not better, since sterling virtue is born rather than made.

For who taught those people, wanderers in wagons hiding their bodies in forest recesses and living by tearing animals to pieces like wild beasts, to answer Darius thus? The same to be sure that gave Croesus' son, who lacked the use of speech, the instrument of a voice to protect his father's life. For when Sardis was taken by Cyrus, one of the Persians, not knowing who Croesus was, came rushing

[12] Sen. *Ben.* 3.72.2 etc. (*RE* 1.1943f.).
[13] About 516: Herod. 4.125–27.

rus viri in caedem eius concitato impetu ferretur, velut oblitus quid sibi Fortuna nascenti denegasset, ne Croesum regem occideret proclamando paene iam impressum iugulo mucronem revocavit. ita qui ad id tempus mutus sibi vixerat, saluti parentis vocalis factus est.

ext. 7 Eadem caritas Italico bello Pinnensem iuvenem, cui Pultoni erat cognomen, tanto animi corporisque robore armavit ut cum obsessae urbis suae claustris praesideret, et Romanus imperator patrem eius captivum in conspectu ipsius constitutum destrictis militum gladiis circumdedisset, occisurum se minitans nisi irruptioni suae iter praebuisset, solus e manibus senem rapuerit, duplici pietate memorandus, quod et patris servator nec patriae fuit proditor.

5

praef. Hanc caritatem proximus fraternae benivolentiae gradus excipit: nam ut merito primum amoris vinculum ducitur plurima et maxima beneficia accepisse, ita proximum iudicari debet simul accepisse. quam copiosae enim suavitatis illa recordatio est: in eodem domicilio antequam nascerer habitavi, in iisdem incunabulis infantiae tempora peregi, eosdem appellavi parentes, eadem pro me vota excubuerunt, parem ex maiorum imaginibus gloriam traxi! cara est uxor, dulces liberi, iucundi amici, accepti adfines, sed postea cognitis nulla benivolentia accedere debet quae priorem exhauriat.

---

[14] 546: Herod. 1.85 etc.

[15] 90? The story may reflect Diodorus' account (37.19f.) of a siege of Pinna (loyal to Rome) by the revolted Italians (*RE*

headlong to kill him; as though forgetting what Fortune had denied him at birth, the son cried out, "Don't kill king Croesus," and so recalled the blade that was already almost pressing his father's throat.[14] He who had until that hour lived mute for himself, found a voice for his parent's life.

The same affection armed with strength of mind and body a young man of Pinna, surnamed Pulto, in the Italian War. He was in charge of the defences of his besieged town, and the Roman commander had placed his father, who was a prisoner, before his eyes surrounded by soldiers with drawn swords, threatening to kill him unless Pulto let his assault party through. Single-handed, Pulto snatched the old man out of their clutches. He is to be commemorated for a double piety, because he was both his father's preserver and no traitor to his fatherland.[15]

5

After this affection comes the next stage, brotherly good will. For just as to have received many great benefits is rightly considered to be the first bond of love, so to have received them together ought to be judged the second. How abundant is the sweetness of that remembrance! Before I was born I dwelt in the same domicile, I spent my time of infancy in the same cradle, called the same persons parents, the same prayers kept watch for me, I drew equal pride from the masks of our ancestors. My wife is dear to me, my children sweet, my friends pleasant, my relations by marriage well liked, but no fondness accruing to later acquaintance ought to drain away that which came before.

XX.1711), thus probably another of Valerius' blunders.

1 Atque haec teste Scipione Africano loquor, qui tametsi artissima familiaritate Laelio iunctus erat, at tamen senatum supplex oravit ne provinciae sors fratri suo erepta ad eum transferretur, legatumque se L. Scipioni in Asiam iturum promisit, et maior natu minori et fortissimus imbelli et gloria excellens laudis inopi et, quod super omnia est, nondum Asiatico iam Africanus. itaque clarissimorum cognominum alterum sumpsit, alterum dedit, triumphique praetextum[63] huius cepit, illius tradidit, ministerio maior aliquanto quam frater imperio.

2 M. vero Fabius consul, inclita pugna Etruscis[64] et Veientibus superatis, delatum sibi summo senatus populique studio triumphum ducere non sustinuit, quia eo proelio Q. Fabius frater eius consularis fortissime dimicans occiderat. quantam in eo pectore pietatem fraternae caritatis habitasse existimemus, propter quam tantus amplissimi honoris fulgor exstingui potuit?

3 Hoc exemplo vetustas, illo saeculum nostrum ornatum est, cui contigit fraternum iugum, Claudiae prius, nunc etiam Iuliae gentis intueri decus: tantum enim amorem princeps parensque noster insitum animo fratris Drusi habuit ut cum Ticini, quo victor hostium ad complectendos parentes venerat, gravi illum et periculosa valitudine in Germania fluctuare cognosset, protinus inde metu attonitus erumperet. iter quoque quam rapidum et praeceps velut uno spiritu corripuerit, eo patet quod Alpes Rhe-

[63] praetextum *Kempf*: -tam AL
[64] Etruscis ς: et amicis AL; Br

---

[1] 190: Livy 37.1.7–10 etc.

This I say with Scipio Africanus as my witness. Although linked to Laelius in closest intimacy, he begged the senate in supplication that the lot of a province withdrawn from his brother should not be transferred to him and promised to go to Asia as Legate to L. Scipio, elder brother to younger, hero to unwarlike, preeminent in glory to unpraised, and, above all, already Africanus to not yet Asiaticus. So of two illustrious surnames he assumed this and gave that, took the glory of one triumph, handed over that of the other, considerably greater in service than his brother in command.[1]

Consul M. Fabius defeated the Etruscans and Veientes in a famous battle, but could not bring himself to take the triumph enthusiastically proffered him by senate and people because his brother, the Consular Q. Fabius, had died fighting very gallantly in that engagement. What piety of fraternal affection must we think dwelt in his breast that on account of it such lustre of the highest of honours could be extinguished?[2]

Antiquity is adorned with that example and our epoch with this following. It has been our fortune to behold a pair of brothers once the glory of the Claudian clan, now also of the Julian. Our leader and parent had so great a love implanted in his heart for his brother Drusus that when at Ticinus, where he had come as victor over enemies to embrace his parents, he learned that in Germany Drusus' life hung in the balance from a grievous and dangerous sickness, he at once dashed off in a panic. How swift and headlong his journey, snatched as it were in a single breath, is evident from the fact that after crossing the Alps and

[2] 479: Livy 2.47.10 etc.

numque transgressus die ac nocte, mutato subinde equo, ducenta milia passuum per modo devictam barbariam Antabagio duce solo comite contentus evasit. sed eum tum maxime[65] labore et periculo implicatum, mortaliumque frequentia defectum, sanctissimum Pietatis numen et di fautores eximiarum virtutum et fidissimus Romani imperii custos Iuppiter comitatus est. Drusus quoque, quamquam fato iam suo quam ullius officio propior erat, vigore spiritus et corporis viribus collapsus, eo ipso tamen quo vita ac mors distinguitur momento legiones cum insignibus suis fratri obviam procedere iussit, ut imperator salutaretur. praecepit etiam dextera in parte praetorium ei statui et consulare et imperatorium nomen obtinere[66] voluit,[67] eodemque tempore et fraternae maiestati cessit et vita excessit.

His scio equidem nullum aliud quam Castoris et Pollucis specimen consanguineae caritatis convenienter adici posse.

4 Sed omnis memoriae clarissimis imperatoribus profecto non erit ingratum si militis summa erga fratrem suum pietas huic parti voluminis adhaeserit: is namque in castris Cn. Pompeii stipendia peragens, cum Sertorianum militem acrius sibi in acie instantem comminus interemisset iacentemque spoliaret, ut fratrem germanum esse cognovit, multum ac diu convicio deos ob donum impiae victoriae insecutus, prope castra transtulit et pretiosa veste opertum rogo imposuit. ac deinde subiecta face protinus eodem gladio quo illum interemerat pectus suum trans-

[65] maxime *Damsté*: -mo AL

[66] optinere A: -nens L

[67] et consulare ... voluit *intra cruces Briscoe*

the Rhine, traveling day and night and changing horses at intervals, he covered at full stretch two hundred miles through a barbarous country recently conquered, with his guide Antabagius as his sole companion. But in this very time of stress and danger, left without mortal attendance, the most holy power of Piety and the gods who favour preeminent virtues and Jupiter, most faithful guardian of Roman empire, bore him company. Drusus too, though closer to his own fate than to duty towards anyone, in the collapse of spiritual vigour and bodily strength, yet at the very moment that separates life from death ordered his legions with their ensigns to go to meet his brother, so that he be saluted as Commander-in-Chief. He further gave orders that a headquarters be set up for him to the right of his own and wished him to use the title of Consul and Commander-in-Chief. He bowed to his brother's majesty and out of his own life at the same time.[3]

To these I for my part know that no example of kindred affection can suitably be added save Castor and Pollux.

But surely the most illustrious commanders of all memory will not be offended if the eminent piety of a soldier towards his brother be attached to this part of my book. He was serving in the army of Cn. Pompeius and had killed hand to hand a Sertorian soldier who was fiercely attacking him in battle. Stripping him as he lay, he recognized that it was his own brother. Bitterly and long he upbraided the gods for their gift of an impious victory, then carried the body close to the camp, covered it with a costly cloth, and placed it on a pyre. Next he set a torch below and forthwith ran the same sword with which he had slain his brother

[3] 9: Livy *Per.* 142, Tac. *Ann.* 3.5 etc.

verberavit, seque super corpus fratris prostratum communibus flammis cremandum tradidit. licebat ignorantiae beneficio innocenti vivere, sed ut sua potius pietate quam aliena venia uteretur, comes fraternae neci non defuit.

6

praef. Artissimis sanguinis vinculis pietas satis fecit: restat nunc ut patriae exhibeatur. cuius maiestati etiam illa quae deorum numinibus aequatur auctoritas parentium vires suas subicit,[68] fraterna quoque caritas animo aequo ac libenter cedit, summa quidem cum rationc, quia eversa domo integer rei publicae status manere potest, urbis ruina penates omnium secum trahat necesse est. verum quid attinet verbis ista complecti quorum tanta vis est ut ali<qui e>a[69] salutis suae impendio testati sint?

1 Brutus consul primus cum Arrunte, Tarquinii Superbi regno expulsi filio, in acie ita concurrit ut pariter illatis hastis uterque mortifero vulnere ictus exanimis prosterneretur. merito adiecerim populo Romano libertatem suam magno stetisse.

2 Cum autem in media parte fori vasto ac repentino hiatu terra subsideret, responsumque esset ea re illum tantummodo compleri posse qua populus Romanus plurimum valeret, Curtius, et animi et generis nobilissimus adulescens, interpretatus urbem nostram virtute armisque praecipue excellere, militaribus insignibus ornatus equum conscen-

[68] subicit *Kempf*: subiecit AG: *om.* L [69] *add.* ς

---

[4] Livy *Per.* 79 etc.
[1] 509: Livy 2.6.8f. etc.

through his own breast and lying prostrate over his brother's body committed himself for cremation to their common flames. He might have lived innocent by benefit of ignorance, but using his own piety rather than the indulgence of others he did not fail to accompany his brother's death.[4]

6

Piety has done justice to the closest ties of blood. It remains that piety towards country be set in view. To the majesty of country even the authority of parents, which is equated with the divinities of the gods, subjects its power, and brotherly affection too yields readily and gladly; with the best of reason, because when a household is overturned the state of the commonwealth may remain intact, but the downfall of a city necessarily drags the household gods of all its inhabitants down with it. But what use to put these things into words? Their force is such that some have testified to them with the sacrifice of their lives.

Brutus, the first Consul, fighting on horseback clashed with Arruns, son of Tarquin the Proud, who had been driven from his throne, so violently that as each alike thrust his lance both were fatally wounded and stretched lifeless on the ground. I might fairly add that the Roman people paid a high price for its freedom.[1]

The earth subsided in the middle of the Forum leaving a sudden huge chasm. An oracle was given that this could only be filled with what made the Roman people's greatest strength. This Curtius, a young man of the noblest spirit and lineage, interpreted in the sense that our city chiefly excels in valour and arms. Wearing his military decorations

dit, eumque vehementer admotis calcaribus praecipitem in illud profundum egit, super quem universi cives honoris gratia certatim fruges iniecerunt, continuoque terra pristinum habitum recuperavit. magna postea decora in foro Romano fulserunt, nullum tamen hodieque pietate Curtii erga patriam clarius obversatur exemplum. cui principatum gloriae obtinenti consimile factum subnectam.

3 Genucio Cipo praetori paludato portam egredienti novi atque inauditi generis prodigium incidit: namque in capite eius subito veluti cornua erepserunt, responsumque est regem eum fore, si in urbem revertisset. quod ne accideret, voluntarium ac perpetuum sibimet indixit exsilium. dignam pietatem quae, quod ad solidam gloriam attinet, septem regibus praeferatur! cuius testandae gratia ‹cornuti›[70] capitis effigies aerea portae qua excesserat inclusa est, dictaque Rauduscula: na‹m›[71] olim aera raudera dicebantur.

4 Genucius laudis huius, qua maior vix cogitari potest,[72] successionem tradit Aelio praetori. cui ius dicenti cum in capite picus consedisset, haruspicesque adfirmassent conservato eo fore ipsius domus statum felicissimum, rei publicae miserrimum, occiso in contrarium utrumque cessurum, e vestigio picum ‹m›orsu[73] suo in conspectu senatus necavit. decem et septem Aeli‹a›[74] tum familia eximiae fortitudinis viros Cannensi proelio amisit: res pu-

[70] *add. SB*[1]

[71] Rauduscula. nam *Kempf*: -scolana A: -s *ras.* colana L: -sculana L *corr.*

[72] vix cogitari potest *Kempf*: excog- impotest AL

[73] *add.* A *corr.*, L *corr.*, G; Br

[74] Aelia tum *Torr.*: mil. tum* A: militum L

he mounted his horse, dug in spurs, and drove him headlong into that abyss. On top of him all the citizens vied with one another in throwing down grain in his honour, and the ground in no time regained its former condition.[2] Great splendours have since blazed in the Roman Forum but even today no more shining example confronts us than Curtius' patriotic piety. He holds the palm of glory. I shall append a similar deed.

When Praetor Genucius Cipus was leaving by the city gate wearing his general's cloak, a portent of a strange and unheard-of description befell him. For suddenly the semblance of horns crept out on his head; and an oracle was given that if he returned to the city he would be king. Lest that should happen, he sentenced himself to voluntary and perpetual exile.[3] Piety worthy to be preferred to the seven kings in terms of real glory. Testifying to which, a bronze effigy of a horned head was put into the gate by which he had left, and it was called Rauduscula; for pieces of bronze once used to be called *raudera*.[4]

Genucius handed on the succession to this credit, than which greater can hardly be imagined, to Praetor Aelius. As he was sitting in judgment, a woodpecker settled on his head. The soothsayers affirmed that if the bird was allowed to live, the fate of his own house would be very happy but that of the commonwealth very miserable; if it was killed, both predictions would be reversed. Aelius immediately killed the woodpecker with a bite before the senate's eyes. The Aelian family lost seventeen exceptionally brave men in the battle of Cannae; the commonwealth as time went

[2] 362: Livy 7.6 etc. [3] Ov. *Met.* 15.565–621 etc.
[4] Cf. Varro *Ling. Lat.* 5.163, Fest. Paul. 339 Lindsay.

blica procedente tempore ad summum imperii fastigium excessit. haec nimirum exempla Sulla et Marius et Cinna tamquam stulta riserunt.

5 P. Decius <Mus>[75] qui consulatum in familiam suam primus intulit, cum Latino bello Romanam aciem inclinatam et paene iam prostratam videret, caput suum pro salute rei publicae devovit, ac protinus concitato equo in medium hostium agmen, patriae salutem, sibi mortem petens, irrupit, factaque ingenti strage plurimis telis obrutus super corruit. ex cuius vulneribus et sanguine insperata victoria emersit.

6 Unicum talis imperatoris specimen esset, nisi animo suo respondentem filium genuisset: is namque in quarto consulatu, patris exemplum secutus, devotione simili, aeque strenua pugna, consentaneo exitu labantes perditasque vires urbis nostrae correxit. ita dinosci arduum est utrum Romana civitas Decios utilius habuerit duces an amiserit, quoniam vita eorum ne vinceretur obstitit, mors fecit ut vinceret.

7 Non est exstinctus pro re publica superior Scipio Africanus, sed admirabili virtute ne res publica exstingueretur providit: si quidem cum adflicta Cannensi clade urbs nostra nihil aliud quam praeda victoris esse Hannibalis videretur, ideoque reliquiae prostrati exercitus deserendae

[75] *add.* P

---

5 [Front.] *Strat.* 4.5.14 has the woodpecker incident about a Praetor, C. Aelius, whereas Varro *Vit. pop. Romani* fr. 94 Riposati and Pliny *N.H.* 10.41 relate it respectively to a Praetor Urbanus P. Aelius Paetus, and a Praetor Urbanus Aelius Tubero. A P. Aelius Paetus was Praetor Urbanus in 203 (Consul in 201) and a

on rose to the topmost pinnacle of empire.[5] No doubt Sulla and Marius and Cinna laughed at these examples, deeming them foolish.

In the Latin War P. Decius Mus, who was the first to bring the Consulship into his family, seeing the Roman line of battle bending and almost laid low, devoted his life for the salvation of the commonwealth and forthwith urging on his horse broke into the midst of the enemy ranks, seeking salvation for his country and death for himself. After making a great slaughter, he fell on top of it, overwhelmed with a multitude of missiles. From his wounds and blood emerged an unhoped-for victory.[6]

The example of such a general would be unique had he not begotten a son with a soul corresponding to his own. For he in his fourth Consulship followed his father's pattern: with a similar devotion, an equally vigorous fight, and a like end he restored the power of our city from collapse and ruin.[7] Thus it is hard to tell whether the Roman community was more fortunate to have the Decii as generals or to lose them; their lives were a bulwark against defeat, their deaths brought victory.

The elder Scipio Africanus did not die for the commonwealth but with admirable spirit saw to it that the commonwealth should not die. Cast down by the disaster at Cannae, our city seemed only booty for the conqueror Hannibal, and so the remnants of the prostrated army

P. Aelius Tubero was Praetor in 201 and again (Urbanus) in 177 (so Livy 41.8.1, but that is preposterous; surely they were father and son). If the story is to be taken seriously, the hero must be an earlier P. Aelius (216 or sooner), whether Paetus or Tubero.

[6] 340: cf. VM 1.7.3. [7] 295: Livy 10.26–30 etc.

Italiae auctore Q. Metello consilium agitarent, tribunus militum admodum iuvenis stricto gladio mortem unicuique minitando iurare omnes numquam se relicturos patriam coegit, pietatemque non solum ipse plenissimam exhibuit sed etiam ex pectoribus aliorum abeuntem revocavit.

8 Age, ut a singulis ad universos transgrediar, quanto et quam aequali amore patriae tota civitas flagravit! nam cum secundo Punico bello exhaustum aerarium ne deorum quidem cultui sufficeret, publicani ultro aditos censores hortati sunt ut omnia sic locarent tamquam res publica pecunia abundaret, seque praestaturos cuncta nec ullum assem nisi bello confecto petituros polliciti sunt. domini quoque eorum servorum quos Sempronius Gracchus ob insignem pugnam Beneventi manumiserat pretia ab imperatore exigere supersederunt. in castris etiam non eques, non centurio stipendium dari sibi desideravit. viri ac feminae quidquid auri argentive habuerunt, item pueri insignia ingenuitatis ad sustentandam temporis difficultatem contulerunt. ac ne beneficio senatus ‹quidem›,[76] qui muneribus [his][77] functos tributi onere liberaverat, quisquam uti voluit, sed insuper id omnes promptissimis animis praestiterunt: non ignorabant enim captis Veiis, cum decimarum nomine, quas Camillus voverat, aurum Apollini Delphico mitti oporteret neque emendi eius facultas esset, matronas ornamenta sua in aerarium rettulisse,

[76] *add. Kempf*
[77] *del. Pighius*: *anne* certis?

---

[8] 216: Livy 22.53.1–3 etc. Metellus' praenomen is uncertain; cf. VM 2.9.8 and Briscoe's apparatus.

were planning to leave Italy, prompted by Q. Metellus. Still very young, Scipio, a Military Tribune, drew his sword and threatening death to each one of them forced them all to swear that they would never leave their country. Not only did he himself show the fullest piety but brought it back as it was leaving the hearts of others.[8]

And now, to pass from individuals to the whole body, with what ardent and steady love of country was the entire community inspired! In the Second Punic War when the exhausted treasury did not even suffice for the worship of the gods, the tax farmers approached the Censors on their own initiative and urged them to let out all contracts as though the commonwealth had funds in abundance, promising to meet all requirements themselves and not to ask for a penny until the war was over. Moreover, the owners of the slaves whom Sempronius Gracchus had freed at Beneventum for their distinguished conduct in battle omitted to exact their value from the general. In camp no trooper or Centurion wanted his pay. Men and women contributed whatever gold or silver they possessed, likewise boys their emblems of free birth,[9] to tide over the stringency of the time. Neither did any one care to take advantage of the senate's concession freeing persons who had discharged certain functions from the burden of special tax, but they all paid it in addition with the greatest alacrity. They were not ignorant that when Veii was captured and gold had to be sent to Delphic Apollo in payment of tithes vowed by Camillus and there was no means of purchasing it, the matrons put their ornaments into the treasury. Simi-

[9] Their gold lockets (*bullae*).

similiterque audierant mille pondo auri, quod Gallis pro obsidione Capitolii omissa debebatur,[78] earum cultu expletum. itaque et proprio ingenio et exemplo vetustatis admoniti nulla sibi in re cessandum existimaverunt.

ext. 1 Sunt et externa eiusdem propositi exempla. rex Atheniensium Codrus, cum ingenti hostium exercitu Attica regio debellata[79] ferro igni vastaretur, diffidentia humani auxilii ad Apollinis Delphici oraculum confugit, perque legatos sciscitatus est quonam modo tam grave illud bellum discuti posset. respondit deus ita finem ei fore si ipse hostili manu occidisset. quod quidem non solum totis Athenis sed[80] in castris etiam contrariis percrebruit, eoque factum est ut ediceretur ne quis Codri corpus vulneraret. id postquam cognovit, depositis insignibus imperii famularem cultum induit ac pabulantium hostium globo se obiecit, unumque ex his falce percussum in caedem suam compulit. cuius interitu ne Athenae occiderent effectum est.

ext. 2 Ab eodem fonte pietatis Thrasybuli quoque animus manavit. is cum Atheniensium urbem triginta tyrannorum taeterrima dominatione liberare cuperet, parvaque manu maximae rei molem adgrederetur, et quidam e consciis dixisset 'quantas tandem tibi Athenae per te libertatem consecutae gratias debebunt?', respondit 'di faciant ut quantas ipse illis debeo videar rettulisse.' quo adfectu

[78] omissa debebatur *Torr.*: promissa -antur (-atur L *corr.*) AL
[79] debellata *SB*3: debilitata AL
[80] Athenis sed G: -nienses AL

---

[10] 214: Livy 24.18.10–15. [11] Cic. *Tusc.* 1.116 etc.

larly they had heard that the thousand pounds of gold due to the Gauls for raising their siege of the Capitol had been made up out of the matrons' jewellry. So, admonished by both their own disposition and the example of antiquity, they considered that they should leave no effort untried.[10]

EXTERNAL

There are also external examples of the same theme. When the Attic territory was being devastated by fire and sword, beaten down by a vast army of enemies, Codrus, king of the Athenians, in despair of human aid fled for refuge to the oracle of Delphic Apollo and enquired through envoys how that grievous war could be dispelled. The god replied that it would end if Codrus himself fell by an enemy hand. That became common knowledge not only all over Athens but in the opposing camp too, and for that reason an order was issued forbidding any man to wound Codrus' body. Learning this, the king put off the emblems of command and donning a servant's dress put himself in the way of an enemy foraging party. He struck one of them with a sickle and drove the man to kill him. By his death Athens was saved from extinction.[11]

The soul of Thrasybulus derived from the same fount of piety. Desiring to free the city of the Athenians from the evil domination of the Thirty Tyrants, he attempted a large and weighty enterprise with a small band of confederates. One of them asked him: "When Athens has gained freedom through your agency, what thanks will she owe you?" Thrasybulus replied: "May the gods grant that I be thought to have repaid what *I* owe her."[12] By this attitude he en-

12 404: the saying does not seem to be found elsewhere.

inclitum destructae tyrannidis opus <alia>[81] laude cumulavit.

ext. 3 Themistocles autem, quem virtus sua victorem, iniuria patriae imperatorem Persarum fecerat, ut se ab ea oppugnanda abstineret, instituto sacrificio exceptum patera tauri sanguinem hausit, et ante ipsam aram quasi quaedam pietatis clara victima concidit. quo quidem tam memorabili eius excessu ne Graeciae altero Themistocle opus esset effectum est.

ext. 4 Sequitur eiusdem generis exemplum. cum inter Carthaginem et Cyrenas de modo agri pertinacissima contentio esset, ad ultimum placuit utrimque eodem tempore iuvenes mitti, et locum in quem hi convenissent finem ambobus haberi populis. verum hoc pactum Carthaginienses duo fratres, nomine Philaeni, perfidia praecucurrerunt, citra constitutam horam maturato gressu in longius promotis terminis. quod cum intellexissent Cyrenensium iuvenes, diu de fallacia eorum questi, postremo acerbitate condicionis iniuriam discutere conati sunt: dixerunt namque sic eum finem ratum fore, si Philaeni vivos ibi se obrui passi essent. sed consilio eventus non respondit: illi enim nulla interposita mora corpora sua his terra operienda tradiderunt. qui quoniam patriae quam vitae suae longiores terminos esse maluerunt, bene iacent manibus et ossibus suis dilatato Punico imperio.

Ubi sunt superbae Carthaginis alta moenia? ubi mariti-

[81] alia *add. SB* (nova *SB*[1])

---

13 About 459: Plut. *Them.* 31; cf. Cic. *Brut.* 43, where the story is ridiculed.

hanced his achievement in the destruction of the tyranny with further glory.

His own merits made Themistocles conqueror of the Persians, his country's injury made him their general. To escape having to attack her, he made a sacrifice and drank from a bowl in which bull's blood had been collected, and fell before the very altar like some famous victim of Piety.[13] The result of his memorable death was that Greece needed no second Themistocles.

Another example of the same order follows. There was a very pertinacious dispute between Carthage and Cyrene about a boundary. In the end it was decided that young men should be sent simultaneously on both sides and that the place where they met should be considered the border for both peoples. But two Carthaginian brothers, the Philaeni by name, ran ahead of this agreement by a cheat. Hastening their pace in advance of the stipulated hour, they pushed the boundary further along. When the young men of Cyrene realised what had happened, they complained for a long time about the trickery of the Carthaginians, but finally tried to cancel the injury by a harsh proposition: for they said the border would stand if the Philaeni let themselves be buried alive at it. But the outcome was not as they planned, for the brothers without delay surrendered their persons to the Cyreneans for interment. Since they preferred that the bounds of their country should be further extended than those of their lives, they lie well, having broadened the Punic empire with their ghosts[14] and bones.[15]

Where are the lofty walls of proud Carthage? Where

14 *mānibus.* 15 Sall. *Iug.* 79, Mela 1.38 etc.

ma gloria incliti portus? ubi cunctis litoribus terribilis classis? ubi tot exercitus? ubi tantus equitatus? ubi immenso Africae spatio non contenti spiritus? omnia ista duobus Scipionibus Fortuna partita est: at Philaenorum egregii facti memoriam ne patriae quidem interitus exstinxit. nihil est igitur excepta virtute quod mortali animo ac manu immortale quaeri possit.

ext. 5 Iuvenali ardore plena haec pietas. Aristoteles vero, supremas[82] vitae reliquias senilibus ac rugosis membris in summo litterarum otio vix custodiens, adeo valenter pro salute patriae incubuit ut eam ab hostilibus armis solo aequatam in lectulo Atheniensi iacens, et quidem Macedonum manibus, quibus abiecta erat, erigeret. ita non tam urbs strata atque eversa Alexandri quam restituta Aristotelis notum est opus.

Patet ergo quam benignae quamque profusae pietatis erga patriam omnium ordinum, omnis aetatis homines exstiterint, sanctissimisque Naturae legibus mirificorum etiam exemplorum clara mundo[83] subscrips<er>it ubertas.[84]

7. DE PARENTUM AMORE ET INDULGENTIA IN LIBEROS

praef. Det nunc vela pii et placidi adfectus parentium erga liberos indulgentia, salubrique aura provecta gratam suavitatis dotem secum adferat.

[82] supremas *Per.*: -mae AL [83] clara mundo *inter cruces Briscoe* [84] subscripserit (*Torr.*) ubertas (ς)] suscriptuumtas AL: subscripsit* ub- *Per.*: -scit unitas* G

---

[16] Stagira was destroyed in 348 by Philip II and restored by him or Alexander at Aristotle's instance: Plut. *Alex.* 7.

the maritime glory of her famed harbour? Where her fleet, a terror to all shores? Where so many armies? Where her numerous cavalry? Where her ambition, not satisfied with the immense expanse of Africa? All this did Fortune divide among the two Scipios. But the memory of the noble deed of the Philaeni was not extinguished even by the destruction of their country. So there is nothing immortal except virtue that can be gained by mortal mind and hand.

This piety was full of youthful enthusiasm. But Aristotle barely guarded the last remnants of his life with aged and wrinkled limbs in the fulness of lettered inactivity, yet he kept so effective a watch over the welfare of his country that when she was levelled with the ground by hostile arms he raised her up as he lay in an Athenian bed, and that by the hands of Macedonians, by which she had been hurled down. So that city demolished and overthrown is not so notorious a work of Alexander as its restitution is of Aristotle.[16]

It is evident, therefore, how men of all orders and ages have arisen with abundant and unstinting piety towards country. A wealth of marvellous examples famous world-wide has corroborated the holiest laws of Nature.

7. OF THE LOVE AND INDULGENCE OF PARENTS TO CHILDREN

Now let the indulgence of parents towards children spread the sails of pious and peaceable emotion and, wafted by a salubrious breeze, carry with it the grateful gift of charm.

1 Fabius Rullianus, quinque consulatibus summa cum gloria peractis omnibusque et virtutis et vitae ‹e›meritis[85] stipendiis, legatus ire Fabio Gurgiti filio ad bellum difficile et periculosum conficiendum gravatus non est, paene ipso per se dumtaxat animo sine corpore militaturus, utpote propter ultimam senectutem lectuli otio quam labori proeliorum habilior. idem triumphantem equo insidens sequi, quem ipse parvulum triumphis suis gestaverat, in maxima voluptate posuit, nec accessio gloriosae illius pompae sed auctor spectatus est.

2 Non tam speciosa Caesetii equitis Romani sors patria, sed par indulgentia. qui ab Caesare omnium iam et externorum et domesticorum hostium victore cum abdicare filium suum iuberetur, quod is tribunus plebis cum Marullo collega invidiam ei tamquam regnum adfectanti fecerat, in hunc modum respondere sustinuit: 'celerius tu mihi, Caesar, omnes filios meos eripies quam ex iis ego unum nota mea pellam.' habebat autem duos praeterea optimae indolis filios, quibus Caesar se incrementa dignitatis benigne daturum pollicebatur. hunc patrem tametsi summa divini principis clementia tutum praestitit, quis tamen non humano ingenio maius ausum putet, quod cui totus terrarum orbis succubuerat non cessit?

3 Sed nescio an Octavius Balbus concitatioris et ardentioris erga filium benivolentiae fuerit. proscriptus a triumviris, cum domo postico clam esset egressus iamque fugae expeditum initium haberet, postquam filium intus

[85] *add. Gryphius*

---

[1] 292/291: Livy *Per.* 11 etc.

After passing through five Consulships with the greatest distinction and completing all campaigns of valour and of life, Fabius Rullianus did not balk at going to finish a difficult and dangerous war as Legate to his son Fabius Gurges—virtually to serve with his mind only, since extreme old age made him more apt to the leisure of a bed than the labour of battles. But he thought it a signal pleasure to follow on horseback the triumph of his son, whom he himself had carried as a little boy at his own triumphs. He was watched not as an adjunct to that glorious procession but as its author.[1]

The paternal lot of Caesetius, a Roman knight, was less resplendent but his love was equal. Caesar, now victor over all his enemies foreign and domestic, ordered him to disown his son because the latter as Tribune of the Plebs together with his colleague Marullus had sought to bring Caesar into odium by suggesting that he aimed at becoming king. Caesetius had the courage to reply thus: "You will rob me of all my sons, Caesar, before I drive one of them away by my censure." He had two other highly gifted sons to whom Caesar promised high favour and advancement. The signal clemency of the divine leader kept this father safe, but who would not think his daring more than human in that he did not yield to one to whom the whole world had succumbed?[2]

But perhaps Octavius Balbus' fondness towards his son was more lively and ardent. Proscribed by the Triumvirs, he left his house secretly by a back door and was ready to begin his flight without anything to stop him when a false

[2] 44: Livy *Per.* 116 etc. The father's role appears only in Valerius.

trucidari falso clamore viciniae accepit, ei se neci quam evaserat obtulit, occidendumque militibus tradidit, pluris nimirum illud momentum quo illi praeter spem incolumem videre filium contigerat quam salutem suam aestimans. miseros adulescentis oculos, quibus amantissimum sui patrem ipsius opera sic exspirantem intueri necesse fuit!

ext. 1 Ceterum ut ad iucundiora cognitu veniamus, Seleuci regis filius Antiochus, novercae Stratonices infinito amore correptus, memor quam improbis facibus arderet, impium pectoris vulnus pia dissimulatione contegebat. itaque diversi adfectus iisdem visceribus ac medullis inclusi, summa cupiditas et maxima verecundia, ad ultimam tabem corpus eius redegerunt. iacebat ipse in lectulo moribundo similis, lamentabantur necessarii, pater maerore prostratus de obitu unici filii deque sua miserrima orbitate cogitabat, totius domus funebris magis quam regius erat vultus. sed hanc tristitiae nubem Leptinis mathematici vel, ut quidam tradunt, Erasistrati medici providentia discussit: iuxta enim Antiochum sedens, ut eum ad introitum Stratonices rubore perfundi et spiritu increbrescere, eaque egrediente pallescere et excitatiorem[86] anhelitum subinde recuperare animadvertit, curiosiore observatione ad ipsam veritatem penetravit: intrante enim Stratonice et rursus abeunte bracchium adulescentis dissimulanter apprehen-

[86] excitatiorem L: exerc- * AG

---

[3] 43: App. *B.C.* 4.21.

[4] Antiochus I (reigned 280–261), son of Seleucus I. The story is widely reported (App. *Syr.* 59–61 etc.).

alarm close by made him think that his son was being murdered inside. So he went to meet the death he had escaped, surrendering himself to the soldiers to be killed. Doubtless the moment in which he had the unexpected happiness to see his son unharmed was worth more to him than his own life. Alas for the young man's eyes, with which he had to see his devoted father thus dying because of him![3]

EXTERNAL

To come, however, to items more pleasant to hear of, Antiochus,[4] son of king Seleucus, was seized with a boundless love for his stepmother Stratonice. Mindful of the immorality of the passion that burned him, he concealed his impious heart-wound with pious dissimulation. Diverse emotions enclosed in the same inner parts, utmost desire and deepest shame, caused his body to waste quite away. He lay in bed like a dying man, his friends and relations were lamenting, his father, prostrate with grief, thought of the death of his only son and his own pitiable bereavement. The aspect of the whole household was more funereal than royal. But this cloud of sadness was dissipated by the wisdom of Leptines the astrologer, or as some have it, Erasistratus the physician. Sitting next to Antiochus, he noticed that when Stratonice came in he blushed all over and his breath came faster, whereas when she went out he turned pale and from then on recovered his excited breathing. More careful observation brought him to the very truth. As Stratonice entered and left again, he surreptitiously took hold of the young man's arm and by

dendo modo vegetiore, modo languidiore pulsu venarum comperit cuius morbi aeger esset, protinusque id Seleuco exposuit. qui carissima sibi coniuge filio cedere non dubitavit, quod in amorem incidisset Fortunae acceptum referens, quod dissimulare eum ad mortem usque paratus esset ipsius pudori imputans. subiciatur animis senex rex amans: iam patebit quam multa quamque difficilia paterni adfectus indulgentia superav<er>it.[87]

ext. 2 Ac Seleucus quidem uxore, Ariobarzanes autem filio suo Cappadociae regno cessit in conspectu Cn. Pompeii. cuius cum tribunal conscendisset, invitatusque ab eo in curuli sella sedisset, postquam filium in cornu scribae humiliorem fortuna sua locum obtinentem conspexisset, non sustinuit infra se collocatum intueri, sed protinus sella descendit et diadema in caput eius transtulit, hortarique coepit ut eo transiret unde ipse surrexerat. exciderunt lacrimae iuveni, cohorruit corpus, delapsum[88] diadema est, nec quo iussus erat progredi potuit, quodque paene veritatis fidem excedit, laetus erat qui regnum deponebat, tristis cui dabatur. nec ullum finem tam egregium certamen habuisset, nisi patriae voluntati auctoritas Pompeii adfuisset: filium enim et regem appellavit, et diadema sumere iussit, et in curuli sella considere coegit.

8

praef. Comicae lenitatis hi patres, tragicae asperitatis illi.

[87] superaverit *Kapp*: -avit AL: -arit *Vorst*
[88] delapsum *Per.*: dil- AL

---

[5] 63/62: App. *Mith.* 105 (no details).

his pulse as it grew rapid or languid discovered the nature of his sickness. At once he told Seleucus, who did not hesitate to turn his wife, who was very dear to him, over to his son, regarding the latter's falling in love as the work of Fortune but crediting to his modesty his readiness to conceal that love to the point of death. Imagine the old man, a king and a lover; it will soon be plain how many and difficult were the obstacles over which the fondness of a father's feeling triumphed.

Seleucus gave up his wife, whereas Ariobarzanes yielded the kingdom of Cappadocia to *his* son in the presence of Cn. Pompeius. When the king had mounted Pompey's tribunal and sat in a curule chair at his invitation, he saw his son in the scribe's corner, occupying a place beneath his rank. He could not bear to see him placed below himself, but at once got down from his chair and transferred the diadem to his son's head, telling him to move to the place from which he himself had risen. The young man shed tears, trembled all over, the diadem slipped down, he could not go where he was told; and, what almost surpasses credibility, he who was resigning monarchy was happy, he to whom it was being given was sad. So noble a conflict would never have ended if Pompey's authority had not come to the aid of the paternal wish. For he addressed the son as king, told him to put on the diadem, and forced him to sit in the curule chair.[5]

8

These fathers were gentle, as in comedy, tragically harsh those that follow.

DE SEVERITATE PATRUM IN LIBEROS

1 L. Brutus, gloria par Romulo, quia ille urbem, hic libertatem Romanam condidit, filios suos dominationem Tarquinii a se expulsam reducentes, summum imperium obtinens, comprehensos proque tribunali virgis caesos et ad palum religatos securi percuti iussit. exuit patrem ut consulem ageret, orbusque vivere quam publicae vindictae deesse maluit.

2 Huius aemulatus exemplum Cassius filium suum Sp. Cassium, qui tribunus plebis agrariam legem primus tulerat, multisque aliis rebus populariter animos hominum amore sui devinctos tenebat, postquam illam potestatem deposuit, adhibito propinquorum et amicorum consilio adfectati regni crimine domi damnavit, verberibusque adfectum necari iussit, ac peculium eius Cereri consecravit.

3 T. autem Manlius Torquatus, propter egregia multa rarae dignitatis, iuris quoque civilis et sacrorum pontificalium peritissimus, in consimili facto ne consilio quidem necessariorum indigere se credidit: nam cum ad senatum Macedonia de filio eius D. Silano, qui eam provinciam obtinuerat, querellas per legatos detulisset, a patribus conscriptis petiit ne quid ante de ea re statuerent quam ipse Macedonum filiique sui causam inspexisset. summo deinde cum amplissimi ordinis tum etiam eorum qui questum venerant consensu cognitione suscepta, domi consedit solusque utrique parti per totum biduum vacavit, ac

---

[1] 509: Livy 2.2–5 etc.

[2] 485: father of Sp. Cassius Vicellinus, who was Consul in 486. Only Valerius makes him a Tribune: Livy 2.41 etc. (Broughton I.20).

BOOK V.8

OF FATHERS' SEVERITY TOWARDS THEIR CHILDREN

L. Brutus is Romulus' equal in glory, for the latter founded the Roman city, the former Roman freedom. Holding the supreme authority, he ordered his sons arrested, flogged with rods in front of his tribunal, bound to stakes, and beheaded. They were trying to bring back the rule of Tarquin which he himself had driven out. He put off the father to play the Consul, and preferred to live childless rather than fail to support public retribution.[1]

Cassius emulated his example.[2] His son as Tribune of the Plebs had been the first to propose an agrarian law and currying popular favour in many other ways held public sentiment attached to himself. When he laid down that office, his father summoned a council of relatives and friends and condemned him in his house on the charge of aiming to be king. He ordered him to be flogged and executed, and consecrated his property to Ceres.

In a similar action T. Manlius Torquatus, a man of rare prestige founded on many outstanding merits, also a great expert on civil law and pontifical ritual, did not think he needed even a council of relatives and friends. When Macedonia presented to the senate through envoys complaints against his son D. Silanus, who had been governor of the province, he requested the Conscript Fathers not to come to any decision on the matter until he himself had examined the case of the Macedonians and his son. Then he started his enquiry with the full approval both of the most honourable order and of those who had come to complain. Sitting in his house and alone, he listened to both sides through two entire days and on the third, after the most

tertio plenissime [die][89] diligentissimeque auditis testibus ita pronuntiavit: 'cum Silanum filium meum pecunias a sociis accepisse probatum mihi sit, et re publica eum et domo mea indignum iudico, protinusque e conspectu meo abire iubeo.' tam tristi patris sententia perculsus Silanus lucem ulterius intueri non sustinuit, suspendioque se proxima nocte consumpsit. peregerat iam Torquatus severi et religiosi iudicis partes, satis factum erat rei publicae, habebat ultionem Macedonia, potuit tam verecundo filii obitu patris inflecti rigor: at ille neque exsequiis adulescentis interfuit et, cum maxime funus eius duceretur, consulere se volentibus vacuas aures accommodavit: videbat enim se in eo atrio consedisse in quo imperiosi illius Torquati severitate conspicua imago posita erat, prudentissimoque viro succurrebat effigies maiorum [suorum][90] cum titulis suis idcirco in prima parte aedium poni solere ut eorum virtutes posteri non solum legerent sed etiam imitarentur.

4 M. vero Scaurus, lumen ac decus patriae, cum apud Athesim flumen impetu Cimbrorum Romani equites pulsi deserto ‹consule›[91] Catulo urbem pavidi repeterent, consternationis eorum participi filio suo misit qui diceret libentius se in acie eius interfecti ossibus occursurum quam ipsum tam deformis fugae reum visurum: itaque, si quid modo reliquum in pectore verecundiae superesset, conspectum degenerati patris vitaturum: recordatione enim iuventae suae qualis M. Scauro aut habendus aut spernendus filius esset admonebatur. quo nuntio accepto

[89] *del. Eberhard* [90] *del. Kempf* [91] *add.* P

---

3 140: Cic. *Fin.* 1.24, Livy *Per.* 54.

ample and thorough hearing of witnesses, he pronounced as follows: "It having been proved to my satisfaction that my son Silanus took bribes from our allies, I judge him unworthy of the commonwealth and of my house and order him to leave my sight immediately." Smitten by his father's terrible sentence, Silanus could not bear to look any longer on the light and hanged himself the following night.[3] Torquatus had now fulfilled the role of a stern and scrupulous judge, the public interest had been satisfied, Macedonia had its revenge; the father's rigour might have been softened by his son's remorseful end. But he did not take part in the young man's obsequies and at the very time of the funeral he gave his attention to persons wishing to consult him. For he saw that within the hall where he sat was placed the mask of Torquatus the Imperious, conspicuous in its severity, and as a very wise man he bethought himself that the effigies of a man's ancestors with their labels are placed in the first part of the house in order that their descendants should not only read of their virtues but imitate them.

A body of Roman horsemen who were routed by a Cimbrian attack at the river Athesis fled in terror to Rome, deserting Consul Catulus. One of them, participating in their panic, was the son of M. Scaurus, the light and ornament of his country, who sent him the following message: he would rather come upon the bones of his son killed in action than see him in person guilty of so disgraceful a flight; therefore, if he had any remnant of shame left in his heart, he would avoid the sight of the father from whom he had degenerated. For he was admonished by the recollection of his own youth what sort of a son M. Scaurus should have or should spurn. Receiving this message, the young

iuvenis coactus est fortius adversus semet ipsum gladio uti quam adversus hostes usus fuerat.

5 Nec minus animose A. Fulvius, vir senatorii ordinis, euntem in aciem filium retraxit quam Scaurus e proelio fugientem increpuit: namque iuvenem et ingenio et litteris et forma inter aequales nitentem, pravo consilio amicitiam Catilinae secutum inque castra eius temerario impetu ruentem, medio itinere abstractum supplicio mortis adfecit, praefatus non se Catilinae illum adversus patriam sed patriae adversus Catilinam genuisse. licuit, donec belli civilis rabies praeteriret, inclusum arcere: verum illud cauti patris narraretur opus, hoc severi refertur.

9

praef. Sed ut hanc incitatam et asperam severitatem mitiores relati patrum mores clementiae suae mixtura temperent, exactae poenae concessa venia iungatur.

DE PARENTUM ADVERSUS SUSPECTOS LIBEROS MODERATIONE

1 L. Gellius, omnibus honoribus ad censuram defunctus, cum gravissima crimina de filio, in novercam commissum stuprum et parricidium cogitatum, propemodum explorata haberet, non tamen ad vindictam continuo procucurrit, sed paene universo senatu adhibito in consilium, expositis suspicionibus, defendendi se adulescenti potestatem fecit, inspectaque diligentissime causa absolvit eum cum consilii

---

[4] 102: Auct. vir. ill. 72.10, [Front.] *Strat.* 4.1.13.

[5] 62: Sall. *Cat.* 39.5, Dio 37.36.4.

[1] In 70. Cf. Catull. 88–90. E. Badian has shown that he should not be given the cognomen Publicola (cf. *SB*[4], 92).

man was driven to use his sword more bravely against himself than he had used it against the enemy.[4]

A. Fulvius, a man of senatorial rank, recalled his son who was on his way to fight with no less spirit than Scaurus rebuked his as he fled from battle. The young man, who shone among his peers in talent and letters and looks, had misguidedly followed Catiline's friendship and was hurrying to his camp on a rash impulse. His father dragged him back in mid journey and put him to death, first observing that he had not begotten him for Catiline against his country but for his country against Catiline. He might have kept him shut up until the rage of civil war passed over. But that would have been the story of a wary father, this is the account of a stern one.[5]

9

But in order that accounts of milder paternal manners may temper this hasty, harsh severity with a tincture of their clemency, let punishment exacted be followed by pardon vouchsafed.

OF MODERATION OF PARENTS TOWARDS SUSPECTED CHILDREN

L. Gellius, who had held all offices up to and including the Censorship,[1] was almost certain that his son had been guilty of very serious crimes, namely adultery with his stepmother and plotting his father's murder. He did not, however, rush to punish straight away, but took almost the entire senate into his council and having set out his suspicions gave the young man the opportunity to defend himself. After a very thorough examination of the case, he

tum etiam sua sententia. quod si impetu irae abstractus saevire festinasset, admisisset magis scelus quam vindicasset.

2 Q. autem Hortensii, qui suis temporibus ornamentum Romanae eloquentiae fuit, admirabilis in filio patientia exstitit: cum enim eo usque impietatem eius suspectam et nequitiam invisam haberet ut Messallam sororis suae filium heredem habiturus, ambitus reum defendens iudicibus diceret, si illum damnassent, nihil sibi praeter osculum nepotum, in quibus acquiesceret, superfuturum, hac scilicet sententia, quam etiam editae orationi inseruit, filium potius in tormentis animi quam in voluptatibus reponens, tamen, ne Naturae ordinem confunderet, non nepotes sed filium heredem reliquit, moderate usus adfectibus suis, quia et vivus moribus eius verum testimonium et mortuus sanguini honorem debitum reddidit.

3 Idem fecit clari generis magnaeque dignitatis vir Q. Fulvius, sed in filio aliquanto[92] taetriore: nam cum auxilium senatus implorasset, ut suspectus in parricidio et ob id latens per triumvirum conquireretur, ac iussu patrum conscriptorum comprehensus esset, non solum eum non notavit sed etiam decedens omnium[93] ‹dominum bonorum›[94] esse voluit, quem genuerat heredem instituens, non quem fuerat expertus.

4 Magnorum virorum clementibus actis ignoti patris novae atque inusitatae rationis consilium adiciam. qui cum

[92] aliquanto ς (*cf. SB*³): -tum AL, *edd.* [93] *intra cruces Briscoe* [94] *add.* ς *et Wensky* (dom- om- bon-)

---

[2] Cf. Cic. *Att.* 6.3.9.

[3] The persons in this and the following item are unknown.

acquitted him by vote of the council and also his own. Had he been carried away by angry impulse into violent action, he would have committed a crime rather than punished one.

Q. Hortensius, who in his day was an ornament of Roman eloquence, showed admirable patience towards his son. So much did he suspect the latter of undutiful behavior and so offended was he by his worthlessness that he intended to make his sister's son Messalla his heir and in defending him on a charge of electoral misconduct he told the jury that if they condemned him he, Hortensius, would have no comfort left except the kisses of his grandchildren. With that sentiment, which he also included in his published speech, he evidently placed his son among his afflictions rather than his delights. Nonetheless, rather than confuse Nature's order, he left his son as his heir, not his grandsons, controlling his feelings with discretion, in that he both in his lifetime bore true testimony to his son's character and in death rendered due respect to the claims of blood.[2]

Q. Fulvius, a man of illustrious family and high standing, did the same, but in the case of a considerably nastier son. He was suspected of parricide and on that account was in hiding. His father appealed for help to the senate to have him searched for by the Triumvir as suspect of parricide and hiding on that account; and by order of the Conscript Fathers he was apprehended. Not only did his father not censure him, but when he died left him his entire estate, making the man he had begot his heir, not the man he had known.[3]

To the merciful actions of great men I shall add the device of an obscure father, of strange and unusual nature.

a filio insidias necti sibi comperisset, nec inducere in animum posset ut verum sanguinem ad hoc sceleris progressum crederet, seductam uxorem suppliciter rogavit ne se ulterius celaret sive illum adulescentem subiecisset sive ex alio concepisset. adseveratione deinde eius et iure iurando se nil tale suspicari ‹debere›[95] persuasus, in locum desertum filio perducto gladium, quem occultum secum attulerat, tradidit ac iugulum feriendum praebuit, nec veneno nec latrone ei ad peragendum parricidium opus esse adfirmans. quo facto non paulatim sed magno impetu recta cogitatio pectus iuvenis occupavit, continuoque abiecto gladio 'tu vero' inquit, 'pater, vive, et si tam obsequens es ut hoc precari filio permittas, me quoque exsupera. sed tantum quaeso ne meus erga te amor eo sit tibi vilior quod a paenitentia oritur.' solitudinem sanguine meliorem, pacatioresque penatibus silvas, et alimentis blandius ferrum, ac mortis oblatae quam datae vitae felicius beneficium!

10

praef. Commemoratis patribus qui iniurias filiorum patienter exceperunt, referamus eos qui mortes aequo animo tolerarunt.

DE PARENTIBUS QUI OBITUM LIBERORUM FORTI ANIMO TULERUNT

1 Horatius Pulvillus, cum in Capitolio Iovi Optimo Maxi-

[95] *add.* ς (*post* tale)

When he discovered that his son was plotting against him but could not bring himself to believe that his own true blood had gone to such criminal lengths, he drew his wife aside and begged her not to hide the truth from him any longer, whether she had substituted the young man or conceived him by someone else. Convinced then by her assertion and oath that he should not suspect anything of that sort, he led his son to a solitary place, handed him a sword which he had brought with him concealed, and offered his throat to be cut, declaring that the other needed neither poison nor assassin to carry through his parricide. Thereupon right thinking took over the young man's heart, not gradually but in a mighty rush, and straight away throwing the sword aside, he said: "You, father, go on living, and if you are so obliging as to allow your son to pray for it, outlive me also. I only ask that you do not think the more meanly of my love for you because it arises from repentance." Ah solitude better than blood, forests safer than household hearth, steel more persuasive than nurture, benefit of offered death more fortunate than of life bestowed!

10

We have commemorated fathers who received patiently their sons' injuries. Let us record those who bore their deaths with equanimity.

OF PARENTS WHO BORE THE DEATH OF THEIR CHILDREN WITH FORTITUDE

When Horatius Pulvillus as Pontiff was dedicating the temple on the Capitol to Jupiter Best and Greatest, hold-

mo aedem pontifex dedicaret, interque nuncupationem sollemnium verborum postem tenens mortuum esse filium suum audisset,[96] neque manum a poste removit, ne tanti templi dedicationem interrumperet, neque vultum a publica religione ad privatum dolorem deflexit, ne patris magis quam pontificis partes egisse videretur. clarum exemplum, nec minus tamen illustre quod sequitur.

2 Aemilius Paullus, nunc felicissimi nunc miserrimi patris clarissima repraesentatio, ex quattuor filiis formae insignis, egregiae indolis duos iure adoptionis in Corneliam Fabiamque gentem translatos sibi ipse denegavit, duos ei Fortuna abstulit. quorum alter triumphum patris funere suo quartum ante diem praecessit, alter in triumphali curru conspectus post diem tertium exspiravit. itaque qui ad donandos usque liberis[97] abundaverat, in orbitate subito destitutus est. quem casum quo robore animi sustinuerit orationi quam de rebus a se gestis apud populum habuit hanc adiciendo clausulam nulli ambiguum reliquit: 'cum in maximo proventu felicitatis nostrae, Quirites, timerem ne quid mali Fortuna moliretur, Iovem Optimum Maximum Iunonemque Reginam et Minervam precatus sum ut si quid adversi populo Romano immineret, totum in meam domum converteretur. quapropter bene habet: adnuendo enim votis meis id egerunt ut vos potius meo casu doleatis quam ego vestro ingemescerem.'

3 Uno etiam nunc domestico exemplo adiecto, in alienis luctibus orationi meae vagari permittam. Q. Marcius Rex,

[96] tolle inquit cadaver *post* audisset P
[97] liberis *SB*[1]: -ros AL

ing the doorpost as he pronounced the customary words, he heard that his son was dead. He neither took his hand from the post, lest he interrupt the dedication of so great a temple, nor changed his countenance from public solemnity to private distress, lest he seem to have played the role of father rather than that of Pontifex.[1] A celebrated example, but the next is no less illustrious.

Aemilius Paullus is the most famous model of a very happy father suddenly turned very miserable. Of his four sons he transferred two, both of them remarkably handsome and outstandingly gifted, to the Cornelian and Fabian clans by right of adoption, thus denying them to himself. Fortune took two away from him. One of these preceded his father's triumph with his own funeral three days previously, the other was seen in the triumphal car but died three days later. Thus Paullus, who had so many children that he could give them away, was suddenly left childless and forlorn. With what strength of mind he bore this calamity he made plain to all by adding these final words to his speech to the people concerning his achievements: "Fearing lest in the great harvest of our felicity, citizens, Fortune might have something bad in store for us, I prayed to Jupiter Best and Greatest, Queen Juno, and Minerva that if any adversity threatened the Roman people it might all be turned against my house. Therefore all is well. By granting my prayers they saw to it that you rather grieve for my misfortune than that I groan over yours."[2]

I shall add one more domestic example and then allow my pen to wander among alien sorrows. Q. Marcius Rex,

[1] 509: Cic. *Dom.* 139 (Broughton I.3f.).
[2] 167: Livy 45.40.7–42.1 etc.

superioris Catonis in consulatu collega, filium summae pietatis, magnae spei et—quae non parva calamitatis accessio fuit—unicum amisit, cumque se obitu eius subrutum et eversum videret, ita dolorem altitudine consilii coercuit ut a rogo iuvenis protinus curiam peteret senatumque, quem eo die lege habere oportebat, convocaret.[98] quod nisi fortiter maerorem ferre scisset, unius diei lucem inter calamitosum patrem et strenuum consulem neutra in parte cessato officio partiri non potuisset.

ext. 1 Princeps Atheniensium Pericles, intra quadriduum duobus mirificis adulescentibus filiis spoliatus, his ipsis diebus et vultu pristinum habitum retinente et oratione nulla ex parte infractiore contionatus est. ille vero caput quoque solito more coronatum gerere sustinuit, ut nihil ex vetere ritu propter domesticum vulnus detraheret. non sine causa igitur tanti roboris animus ad Olympii Iovis cognomen ascendit.

ext. 2 Xenophon autem, quod ad Socraticam disciplinam attinet, proximus a Platone felicis ac beatae facundiae gradus, cum sollemne sacrificium perageret, e duobus filiis maiorem natu, nomine Gryllum, apud Mantineam in proelio cecidisse cognovit: nec ideo institutum deorum cultum omittendum putavit, sed tantummodo coronam deponere contentus fuit. quam ipsam, percontatus quonam modo occidisset, ut audiit fortissime pugnantem interisse, capiti

[98] convocaret *Kempf*: evo- AL

---

[3] Not the Censor but his grandson, Consul in 118. Valerius may have found this item in Cicero's lost *Consolatio*.

[4] 430/429: Plut. *Moral.* 118E–F etc.

colleague of the elder Cato[3] in the Consulship, lost a most dutiful and promising son, and (no small addition to the calamity) an only one. Although he saw himself undermined and overturned by the death, he so restrained his grief by profundity of counsel that he went straight from the young man's pyre to the senate house and convoked the senate, which he was legally due to hold that day. Had he not known how to bear grief bravely, he would not have been able to divide the light of a single day between afflicted father and conscientious Consul without failing in duty on either side.

EXTERNAL

Pericles, the leading man in Athens, was robbed within the space of four days of two wonderful young sons. In the course of those very days he addressed a meeting with a countenance that showed no change and speech quite unimpaired. He even bore to wear a garland on his head in the customary style, so that he detracted nothing from ancient practice because of his domestic hurt.[4] Not without reason, therefore, did a mind of such strength rise to the surname of "The Olympian."[5]

Xenophon, who for abundant and happy eloquence is the next step to Plato so far as the Socratic school is concerned, was conducting a regular sacrifice when he learned that the elder of his two sons, Gryllus by name, had fallen in battle at Mantinea. He did not think that the worship of the gods, already begun, should be left off on that account, but was content merely to doff his garland. But even that garland he replaced on his head when he heard, on asking how his son had died, that he had been killed

[5] Aristoph. *Acharn.* 532 etc.

reposuit, numina quibus sacrificabat testatus maiorem se ex virtute filii voluptatem quam ex morte amaritudinem sentire. alius removisset hostiam, abiecisset altaria, lacrimis respersa tura disiecisset: Xenophontis corpus religione[99] immobile stetit et animus in consilio prudentiae stabilis mansit, ac dolori succumbere ipsa clade quae nuntiata erat tristius duxit.

ext. 3 Ne Anaxagoras quidem supprimendus est: audita namque morte filii 'nihil mihi' inquit 'inexspectatum aut novum nuntias: ego enim illum ex me natum sciebam esse mortalem.' has voces utilissimis praeceptis imbuta<s>[100] virtus mittit. quas si quis efficaciter auribus receperit, non ignorabit ita liberos esse procreandos ut meminerit iis a Rerum Natura et accipiendi spiritus et reddendi eodem momento temporis legem dici, atque ut mori neminem solere qui non vixerit, ita ne vivere aliquem quidem posse qui non sit moriturus.

[99] reli(e)gione L *corr.*, G: reli(e)gioni* A *corr.*, L: regioni A
[100] *add. Gertz*

fighting most gallantly; and he called the deities to whom he was sacrificing to witness that he felt more pleasure from his son's valour than bitterness from his death. Another man would have removed the victim, thrown down the altar, scattered the incense sprinkled with tears, but Xenophon's body stayed motionless in the practice of religion and his mind remained stable on the advisory board of wisdom. Yielding to grief to his thinking would be sadder than the reported calamity.[6]

Nor must Anaxagoras[7] be suppressed. When he heard of the death of his son, he said: "You tell me nothing unexpected or new. I knew that he was born from me and mortal."[8] Such are the utterances that virtue sends, imbued with most useful teachings. Whoever receives them effectively with his ears will know that children are to be procreated in mindfulness that the Nature of Things has pronounced for them at the same moment of time the terms of their receiving breath and of their rendering it back, and that just as nobody is apt to die who has not lived, so nobody can live who is not going to die.

[6] 362: Plut. *Moral.* 118F–119A etc.
[7] Philosopher, about 496–428.
[8] Cic. *Tusc.* 3.30 etc.

The Loeb Classical Library is the only existing series of books which, through original text and English translation, gives access to all that is important in Greek and Latin literature. A complete list of titles is available from Harvard University Press.

LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY® is a registered trademark of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.

Public Library of Nashville & Davidson County
3 5192 02641 5079

Of related
Loeb Clas

AELIAN
Historical Miscellany

AULUS GELLIUS
Attic Nights

582-BAC-664

ISBN 0-674-99541-4
90000
9 780674 995413